266

Directorate of Distance Education

GANDHIAN THOUGHT

M.A., Second Year

Paper-VI

SATYAGRAHA AND PEACE MAKING

MADURAI KAMARAJ UNIVERSITY
MADURAI - 625 021.

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Type Setting and Printed By
M/s. KANCHANA OFFSET PRINTERS
Madurai-9. ✆ 624711
Copies : 500 /2002-2003

Welcome Note

Dear Participants,

We Welcome you to this significant paper VI Satyagraha and Peace Making. Here we deal with the two major dimensions of non-violence -Satyagraha and Peace Making. Mahatma Gandhi made significant contributions to both these dimensions of non-violence. He demonstrated the power of nonviolent action for bringing about political, social and economic changes and he refined and elevated nonviolent action to Satyagraha (nonviolent action based on truth, love, sacrifice and spirituality). Gandhi was a great Peace Maker and he resolved many conflicts through peaceful means.

In the nuclear age, with weapons of mass destructions every where, the question before us is (as Marting Luther King putsit) not between "violence and nonviolence" but between "non existence and nonviolence". He further said, "We must learn to live together as brothers and sisters, or we will die together as fools". The truth of this statement has become more self evident as we march ahead with our unprecedented progress of violence oriented western science and technology with increased acceleration.

Now the title of this paper has been changed from "Satyagraha" to "Satyagraha and Peace Making" with additional inputs. Dr.S.Jeyapragasam has revised and added items. Mr.K.Gurunathen, Technical Asst. Dept of Gandhian Studies and Ramalinga Philosophy, Madurai Kamaraj University and Dr-B, Ananthi (Ananthavalli, Director, the Valliammal Institution (TVI), Museum, Madurai - 625 020.

We will fail in our duty if we fail to acknowledge our indebtedness to Professor Gene Sharp, founder President of the Albert Einstein Institution, Boston, USA for all his inspirations, writings and encouragement.

We are quite sure this paper will inspire and transform you apart from Instructing you.

Staff.

Depot. of Gandhian Studies

Syllabus

PAPER-VI SATYAGRAHA AND PEACE MAKING

1. What is peace? The holistic vision of peace-Various visions of Peace-Conservative tradition, liberal view, religious perspective, Marxist Vision, Feminist view, psychological approach and the Gandhian Vision.

2. Conflict resolution and crisis management. The art and science of peace making friendship, love and interpersonal relationship, Psychotheraphy, Body therapy, dialogue, Counseling, Negotiation, Mediation, Arbitration, Adjudication, Moving beyond the Judicial system.

3. Justice and prosperity through constructive work and alternative life-style-removing structural violence and creating peace structures-Building up inner peace and holistic development.

4. Peace with Justice-Types of nonviolent action:Non-resistance, moral resistance, selecting nonviolent action and satyagraha-satyagraha:its meaning and frame work.

5. Nonviolent Action in historical perspective-Contributions of Western Trade Union Movements, Thoreau and Tolstoy. Indian roots of Satyagraha.

6. Indian satyagraha-case studies of (i) Satyagraha in South Africa (ii) Salt Satyagraha (iii) Gandhiji's fasts.

7. Contemporary examples of Nonviolent Action: case studies of (i) American Civil Rights Movement (Martin Luther King) (ii) Struggle against apartheid in South Africa (iii) Nonviolent Action in East Europe.

8. Theory of Nonviolent Action-Methods of nonviolent action-Dynamics of nonviolent action.

9. Training for Nonviolent action-Shanti Sena-Alternative defence

10. Field work/visit and application ; interview three peace activisits about thair views on peace - visit three peace institutions and movements-prepare case histories of three local satyagrahas-Reflect your experience in peace making.

Books Recommended

M.K.Gandhi	:	Satyagraha
M.K.Gandhi	:	Satyagraha in South Africa
M.K.Gandhi	:	Nonviolence in Peace and War (2 Vols)
M.K.Gandhi	:	For Pacifists
K.Shridharani	:	War without Violence
Gobinath Dhawan	:	Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi
Richard B.Gregg	:	Power of Nonviolence
R.R.Diwakar	:	The Saga of Satyagraha
Gene Sharp	:	The Politics of Nonviolent Action.
Joan V.Bondurant	:	The conquest of Violence
Thomas Weber	:	Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics
Mahapragya	:	Mirror of Mind
Paul Wehr	:	Conflict Regulation.

Bryan Teixeira and Others : Basic Counselling Skills and Techniques of peace Making.

மகாத்மா காந்தி நூல்கள், தொகுதி 1, 2, 3 & 8

மகாத்மா காந்தி : சத்தியாகிரகம்

ஜீன் சார்ப் : அகிம்சைப் போராட்டம் (தமிழில் பா.ஆனந்தவல்லி&ச.செயப்பிரகாசம்)

ச. செயப்பிரகாசம் : காந்திய சிந்தனைக் களஞ்சியம்.

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II M.A. Gandhian Thought
Paper VI Satyagraha and Peace Making

Model Question Paper

Time : 3 hrs | Max : 100 Marks

Answer any five of the following

All questions carry equal Marks.

1. Explain the holistic vision of peace.
2. Give a brief outline of the various techniques of Peaceful Resolution of Conflicts.
3. Examine the concept of structural violence and how it can be removed?
4. Suggest ways to build up inner peace.
5. Outline the contributions of Thoreau and Tolstoy to Satyagraha.
6. Attempt a review of Salt Satyagraha.
7. Outline the use of nonviolent action after Gandhi in USA and Europe.
8. Examine the place of strike in nonviolent action.
9. Discuss the dynamics of nonviolent action.
10. Give an outline of your experience or witness in Peace Making or Satyagraha.

Lessons-1&2

What is Peace? The holistic vision of Peace-Various visions of peace-Conservative Tradition-Liberal view-Religious perspective-Marxist vision, Feminist view-Psychological approach-The Gandhian vision.

Peace is a Multi-dimensional concept:

Peace is a growing concept. Denise Levertov's marvelous poem would explain this well.

"peace like a poem
is not there ahead of itself,
can't be imagined before it is made,
can't be known except
in the words of its making
grammer of justice,
syntax of mutual aid."

We can say three definite things about peace.

1. It is a Multi-dimensional concept. 2. It is a process 3. It is continuously evolving one and it is open ended. The concept of peace is often misused and abused also. Let us first explain the various dimensions of peace.

Peace as absence of war and all forms of direct violence (Negative Peace.)

Humankind is the only species which kills its own fellow members in large scale and indiscriminately. With the continuous improvements in the weapon system from the Ston age to the Nuclear Age and beyond, the killing capabilities have increased enormously. The weapon of mass destruction (Nuclear, Chemical and biological Weapons) have qualitatively changed the effects of weapon system. In the stone age, direct violence and war probably had some use such as self-protection and food gathering. As humanity entered the metalic age. swords and arrows became key factors. Heroism and chivalry were exhibited with the help of weapons. (But some pacifists would not accept these claims) with all the modern weapons, today war means mass destruction and annihilation. The distinction between warriors and civilians has disappeared.

Peace is defined here as absence of war or "Losting suspension" of violent modes of rivalry between political units. This way of defining peace is often known as "Negative peace". Here we should point out the fact that war and violence have all along been used by many states and groups as a "legitimate way out" Possessing weapons and a standing military have been almost a universal pattern all along and states often continously tried to improve their military power. But all along there existed some peace societies without any military. On the one hand the increasing levels of human consciousness and ethical values reject war. On the other hand, the annihilating power of modern weapons tend to push humanity towards the concepts of pacifism.

Cold Peace : Misuse of "Peace"

Sometimes the word "Peace" is used as an unpleasant connotation. It may denote an unwanted situation of sterility and emptiness. As pointed out by David Baruch although nearly

everyone desires, "Peace of Mind" the illusory peace that comes from a temporary. drug based withdrawal from reality. the neutral peacefulness of sleep or the undesired peace of coma or even of death may not seem so attractive. Also people refer to the "Peace of the graveyard". Blood thirsty dictators like Hitler also talk about "peace". It is "demonic peace". Peace through threat of incalculable weapon strength is quite unstable and unsatisfactory.

Peace as absence of preparation for war

Even when nations are at peace during the intervals between two wars, they are constantly making preparation for war. This is bound to result in war sooner or later. It may even lead to wars due to accidents and mechanical errors. The concept of deterance is an unstable and risky one.

War Sector today has emerged as the single largest employee in the world. Today more than 1000 billion dollars have been spent annualy by this sector. When we have reached overkill capababilities why should we continue to spend lavishly on arms. Today with the existing stockpile of weapons, more than 150 planets like ours can be destroyed instantaneously. Another calculation shows that for each one of us there is more than 15 tons of TNT explosives.

When millions starve and die, uncared for, arms expenditure goes up. Every minute 150 kids are born, of which nearly 50 die out with in a year. But every minute more than Rs.10 crores is spent on explosives. Arms expenditure affects development work. The life giving bread is converted into guns. This is the tragedy of today Peace means 'Putting an end to the preparations for war'.

Peace as absence of Structural Violence

Poverty, discrimination, exploitation, inequality, injustice etc. are most urgent problems for the vast majority of the people. There can be no real peace when there is the dehumanizing poverty. In recent times Johan Galtung has drawn our attention to these problems which cause peacelessness. He calls them as structural violence since the existing socio economic and political structures themselves cause them (poverty, etc). Today even through direct violence has the capability, structural violence is the greatest killer. While more than 100 million people have been killed since 1900 by direct violence, more than 1000 million have lost their lives due to structural violence.

Mahatma Gandhi has given greater importance to this aspect of violence. He realised that the existing violent structure should be give up and new peace structures should be built up. His Constructive programme is a masterly attempt to construct a new nonviolent world order, or a nonviolent civiigation. Absence or removal of structural violence is now seen as a key aspect of peace. It is building up a world full of prosperity, justice, happiness etc.,

Peace as absence of other forms of violence

Criminal violence, individual, group and State terrorism, revengeful violence, playful violence, Violence caused due to mental illness, etc. should be eliminated to achieve peace. Some of these forms of violence may be considered as a direct or indirect consequence of structural violence. But let us not forget the evils of each of these forms of violence.

Increasing centralization and improving arms and communication and transport systems make the state violence, more and more powerful and deadly. Progressive decentralization, total disarmament, and face to face and self reliant communities alone can reduce the State violence. Mass production and possession are in direct relationship with violence.

Peace as Love and Fraternity

We need to realise that Peace is not merely a negative concept of absence of War and violence. We should pay greater attention to the positive aspects of Peace. Love, compassion, service, fraternity, co-operation and mutual aid, interpersonal relationship, reverence for life, altruism, forgiving, sacrifice, etc., would automatically generate peace. These values cannot exist in abstraction. They have to be developed in life day-to-day situation.

Today we have built up a society which worship money, competition, being number one, possession, profit and selfishness. Love of death. etc, seems to be a major motive of our contemporary civilizations. The result would natuarlly be violence and peacelessness, We should change this.

Tellhad de Chardin said, "Someday after we have mastered the winds, waves, the tides and gravity, we shall human for God the energies of love, Then for the secondtime on the history of the world, man will have discoverd fire".

Peace as Human Right and Human Dignity

Protection of Human Rights is the basic requirement for the full flowering of the human potential and for achieving peace with freedom. race, religion, language, caste, status, sex, age., etc., the dignity of fellow human beings. All along there is the fragmented thinking of considering those belonging to the 'other group' as somewhat "less humane" and considering oneself and members one's own group as somewhat "superior". This has justified the killing of the people of the other groups.

Many religions hold that we are children of God and so we are all one and have the same dignity. Some Eastern religions hold that we are all part of the Divine. This certainly implies that each one has to be revered. But in reality religions tend to develop an exclusivist attitude resulting in harted and persecution of others. Modern ideologies borrowed this evil legacy from religions and ended up in Nazism, Faskism and Stalinism, causing tragic violations of human rights and dignity in unprecedented scales.

The UNO's Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 is the culmination of the human Quest for freedom. This needs to be translated into practice and then we have to go a long way.

Peace as a New Life Style Movement & Constructive Work :

In one sense we are all, direct or indirect, partners in the making of our contemporary civilization which is based on war and violence. As long as this situation continues, there will be peacelessness. Individulas have to adopt a new style of life which would reject the violent values of the existing civilization and adopt a new set of peace values, which would find a concrete expression in their day-to-day life. Voluntary poverty and simplicity, non-exploitation, self restraint

self-dependence and self reliance, altruism and mutual aid, Swadeshi, balanced vegetarian diet, non-drinking and non-smoking, self - control in sexuality, to be in tune with nature, etc., are some of the aspects of the New Life style Movement. This should become a movement with a real mass base. Like constructive work. the New Life Style Movement not only contributes to the building up of a New World based on peace and justice but also challenges effectively the existing order of things based on violence. Constructive Work is volutanary action programme to build up a new world order based on peace, nonviolence & prosperity.

Peace and Ecology

In the West, Nature is often conceived as our enemy. The western ern imagines that he is in constant war with nature and he has to control and conquer nature. But in the East there is a tradition of love and reverence for narure. East there is a tradition of love and reverence for nature. Here human and nature are in complementary distribution.

The Western approach to nature which has become universal has resulted in the destruction of the eco system. This is a serious therat to human life. To-day the West slowly realizes its tragic error. But can it be corrected? It should be corrected, More patch work, here and there, is totaly inadequate.

Peaceful Resolution of Conflicts

Conflicts are many and varied. Conflicts have to be resolved peacefully. Otherwise they may lead to war and violence. We can think of war and violence as the result of the failure to make peace. Peace making seems to be a universal activity and it takes place in day-to-day life. We need greater training and expertise in Peace Making. In Nuclear Age, Peace Making cannot be left to the native genius of humankind. It has to be creatively developed into an advanced science and art. In to-day's context, Peace Making is the most meaningful spiritual practice. Conflicts cannot be fully abolished. There are many creative conflicts. Not all conflicts are destructive. In a world of finite resources and imperfect human nature, rivalry may be there all along. We need to handle them properly. Like the field of medicine which does not seek to eliminate all bacteria or viruas from the world, Peace science accepts the reality of conflicts.

Peace as Nonviolent Action

Peace has to go with justice. One cannot accept the peace of the graveyard. But life is certainly better than death under any circumstace. Only if there is life, then we can make a just world. We may have to accept temporarily life with injustice rather than total annihiliation.

But Peace with justice is really the ideal thing. Often injustice is accepted due to ignorance or lack of self-confidence. Indians accepted the British colonial rule. Mahatma Gandhi worked very hard to make the people aware of the colonial yoke. He created a conflict between the Indians and the British coloniatists. He showed a nonviolent way to challenge this injustice and led India to freedom. Nonviolent action can become an effective altertnative to violent action to achive justice. Mahatma Gandhi has demonstrated this fact. He combined nonviolent action with truth spirituality and love and called it as "Satyagraha".

Let us explain briefly here the concept of satyagraha. Nonviolent Action is a distinct and unique way of action. Verbal persuasion, legal and institutional action and violent action have to be considered in par with nonviolent action, All these four classes of action are in contrast with inaction which is the result of ignorance, fear, cowardice. surrender and indifference.

Nonviolent action is relatively underdeveloped. Violent action has a continuous history of ever increasing efficiency. As explained earlier. with the help of science and technology, violence has became terribly efficient to the point if total annihilation. Violent action has to be replaced by nonviolent action of we want to continue to survive. Only such a context, peace and nonviolent action tend to be synonymous.

Peace and the Unity of Humankind

Humankind is fragmented. Religion, ideology, nationalism, race, language, status, caste, etc., divide us.

Science and technology has conqured time and distance. It is today possible, to comprehend the unity of Mother Earth in physical terms. Man has viewed Earth from the Moon as a beautiful sphere.

Due to the work of spirtual leaders and philosophers at least a section of the humankind is today able to comprehend the entire humankind as one family. We can perceive that we are all part of one another. We are the children of God or we all have the same divinity or core substance in us.

Today at least some of us can perceive that we are after all living in a global village. Some would even describe this as a global cottage.

This vision has to find political and economic expressions. World Governemt and swadeshi, welfare of all and welfare of the last have to be achieved; peace will then flourish. World federation with a world parliament, regional arrangements like SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional cooperation), Nation States, smaller units (states) within Nation States, Districts, Cities, and villages will constitute one conceptual frame with the strong base (village & republics).

The holistic vision of Peace

We explained the various concepts of peace. But these concepts are interrelated. In the West, well in tune with their culture. Their is often fragmented approach to peace. The fragmention tends to kill the very concept of peace. These various concept of peace have to go together in an organic way to make the totality. Mahatma Gandhi had developed a holistic vision of peace which is the need of the hour. More reduction of military expenditure of peaceful resolution of a few conflicts will not create real and enduring peace. These steps are necessary but they are not the; end.

Short - term and long-term aspects of peace

In the Nuclear Age, our survival depends on the immediate stoppage of arms race, terrorism and war, Unless we survive. we cannot make peace. This is an immediate need. Very often, this short-term aspect is over-domination. But there is the long-term aspect, creation of a new world free from violence cannot be accomplished over-night.

Short-term aspect of peace is often compared to the curative approach and the long term aspect is compared to the preventive approach. For the person who is struck down by a car, immediate medical care is an absolute necessity. But for the health of the normal people (who constitute the vast majority) diseases prevention and health building up measures are necessities. These are the long. term approches.

Individual, micro and macro levels

In Peace/violence Studies often attention is paid to to the individual and or micro level. Those who pay attention to the macro level tend to ignore the other levels. Spiritualists, religious people, psychologists, and biologists concentrate on individual level. The sociologists anthropologists and political scientists concentrate on macro level, especially the inter-state violence. We need to integrate all these levels.

Other Limitations

Peace cannot be fully understood with the traditional unidisiplinary approch. It is a multi discianary matter.

We need to go to the roots of Peace and mere quantitative and narrow focus approach may not take us to a far reaching vision.

Peace is a process

Can peace be the goal? Is it the by-product of a certain process? It seems to be a bye-product of love, kindness, disarmament, elimination of war and violence units of humankind, peaceful resolution of conflict, nonviolent action, etc.

Peace is not a concrete object, It is a process. Our understanding of peace deepens with our increasing awareness, maturity and love. The concept of peace itself is dynamic and ever evolving.

Towards Science of Peace

Peace will not come automatically we have to make peace. In our most complicated Age, Peace Making needs to become a most important science. We need a lot of human and financial resources on the one hand and paistaking and intense Peace research and action on the other hand for bringing in peace. Peace Education can be developed in a meaningful way only if we have a viable fund of knowledge and graded course material.

Peace Science will be an inter-disciplinary science with autonomous character as well. It has remined as an infant and imperfect science in the last few decades. Peace Science is yet to take proper roots.

Mahatma Gandhi has left behind an excellent legacy but it is yet to be systematically presented. If that takes place, Gandhi would, without doubt, become the Father of Peace Science in retrospect. The dialectics of our Age. The Nuclear danger and other deadly challenges - would inevitably set in motion the forces of peace Or we have to do that.

Peace science bears interesting comparision with Medical Science. Both are committed to life. Thus they are value oriented. For a peace Scientist, apart from the knowledge and skills, a

heart is needed. According to a Tamil Saiva myth, when siva, in the guise of proletarialt, received a blow from the king, every one of the human being echoed that a peace scientist should be capable of feeling each one of the blows delivered against each and every individual of the human species.

Historical Perspective of Peace : Religions and Peace

Though there is rich resources for peace in world religions there is also rich resources in world religions for war and violence, First let us look at Judaism and Christianity.

"They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spares into pruning hooks :

Nation shall not lift up sword against nation neither shall they learn war any more".

Isaiah 2.4

From end to end of the earth he stamps out war :

he breaks the bow, he snaps the spear

and burns the shield in the fire". Psalms 46:9

"I will break bow and sword and weapon of war and sweep them off the earth, so that all living creatures may lie down with.

But these should make not us forget the rich warrior Judeo Christian tradition of war and violence, Yahweh is praised as a God of war.

"Thou does arm me with strength for the battle and does subdue my foes before me.

Thou settest my yoot on my enemies' necks, and I bring to nothing these that hate me

- Psalms 18 : 39.40

The varied sayings of Jesus throughout the New Testament, in fact, constitute a revolutionary ethical system of peacemaking. Let us quote a few.

"You have heard that it was said, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But I say to you, Do. not resist one who is evil. But if anyone strikes you on the right check, turn to him the other also: and if anyone would sue you and take your coat, let him have your cloak as well; and if anyone forces you to go one mile, go with him, two miles." Mathew, 5:38-41

"And he said to him, "You shall love the lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, This is the great and first commandment. And a second is like it. You shall love your neighbour as yourself. On these two commandments depend all the law and the prophets".

Mathew 22 : 38 - 40

You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbour and hate your enemy : But I say to you love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be sons of your Father who is in heaven...... Mathew 5 : 43 - 45

"Blessed are the peace makers for they shall be called as sons of God".

Mathew 5 : 9

"Put your sword back into its place ; for all who take the sword will perish by the sword".

Mathew 26 : 52

Though such passages are clear indication of the Christian emphasis on Peace Making, ther are certain passages which may be interpreted to justify war. Let us quote one such passage:

"Do not think that I have come to bring peace on earth ;

I have not come to bring peace, but a sword"

Mathew 10 : 34

This passage (along with its subsequent lines) may also be interpreted to denote justice with peace. But its inspiration to take sword is clear (It is very close to Lord Krishna's instigation of Arjuna to take sword against his kins (people).

There is another passage which is often quoted by those who support "liberative" (?) violence." And making a whip of lords, he (Jesus) drove them all, with the sheep and oxen, out of the temple and he poured out the coins of the money - changers and overturned their tables".

Thus Christianity, though claims, along tradition of Pacifism on the one hand, it has inspired individuals, groups and nations which are strongly within its tradition to wage bloody wars - from crusades to Vietnam war. The Hiroshima Atom-bomb crew members received religious blessings and holy communion before undertaking the job of dropping the atomic bomb over Hiroshima!

The Christian Pacifist tradition may be seen at its peak when some Christian youth in the Roman empire refused to take to military service even at the risk of capital punishment. Let us quote Walden Bello. "Perhaps emblematic of the attitude towards war of the early Christian church was Maximillanus' reply to Dior, the proconsul of Africa, on why he refused to serve in the military: "I cannot serve as a soldier; I cannot serve to evil; I am a Christian." For this he was put to death, as were other young Christian conscientious objectors, But this pacific understanding of Chiristianity was totally distorted by the institutionalized Christianity by the fifth century A.D.

Christians evolved the concept of just war theory to justify their war activities in Roman and elsewhere, According to Augustine, perfection and peace were to be realized not in the city of Man but in the city of God. Imperfection, sin, violence and wars were inevitable characteristics of a fallen world. As quoted by Walden Bello, Augustine told a Roman General, who wanted to retire to the monastry, that monastic life was not his duty. His duty was to 'fight for them (the monks) against the barbarians, their visible foes". (very similar to the preaching of Lord Krishna and Hindu and varna theory!). Though war was terrible, it was justified if it was fought to restore peace and justice. Later on Thomas A quinas, Francisco Surarez and others elaborated the Just War Theory' formulated by Augustine. As the world knows well, just war theory' with the blessings and active

support of the Pope instilled the military spirit of crusades to defeat the Muslims. The so called just war theory also was suspended to fight the infidel The colonialism, capitalism and imperialism were in a way a continuity of Medieval christian military spirit. This trend has reached the peak in contemporary wars and arms race.

The anti-militarist tradition of Christianity, however did not vanish. It lived through Francis of Assissi and his order. Peter Cheklciky and his Czech Brotheren, Conrad Gredbel, the moving spirit behind the Swiss Brotheren Anabaptists), Menno Simons, the founder the Mennonites, Jacob Hutter and his Slovakian brotherhood and others. The Quakers (The Religious Society of Friends) became an influential peace group beyond their ranks. Quakers acted on the basis of the inward light and conscience with a commitment to peacemaking. The names of Geroge Fox and William Penn should be mentioned as pioneering Quakers. The Quaker movement has infulenced various peace movement. When the main line Christian churches encouraged wars moved by patrioitic frenzy, the Quakers continued their commitment for peace.

The nuclear age and the horrors of modern warfare have opened up increasingly move towards pacifism even abandoing the just war theory The anti-nuclear weapon stand of the Catholic Bishops and a similar stand by the Methodist Bishops should be seen as of revolutionary significance. The supporters of liberative violence. now tend to reflect the violent dimensions of their programme. Can peace with justice be achieved through nonviolent strategies? The World Council of Churches has launched a new programme to overcome violence.

Now let us look at the Indian religious traditions (Jain, Buddhist, Hindu & Sikh) for their resources for Peace and War,

Buddhism has rich resources of Peace. Buddha is an outstanding model for peace and compassion. Ahimsa and compassion are the core of Buddha's ethical teachings. Buddhist concept of ahimsa included the entire nature. Buddha said, "Let a man overcome anger by love; let him oercome evil by good; let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth". Buddha called to deal others not by violence but by law and equity. Buddha further said. "If a man foolishly does wrong, I will return to him the protection of my ungrudiginy love; the more evil comes from him, the more good shall go from me. .

In some Buddhist traditions, the injunction aganist the taking of life is absolute. But in practice different Buddhist traditions took various stands with regard for war and violence. Buddhist monks have led wars and rebellions in various countries including India, Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, China, Japan and Vietnam. Zen Budhoxism paradcally played a key role in the formation of the warrior. Japanese military was blessed by Buddhist monks during the second world war.

But there is a continious pacifist Buddhist tradition amidst the support for just war. It is said that in uiniversalist ethics, the Bodhisatva must commit the Sin of killing if the viction is thereby prevented from killing even more beings. This is in comparsion with the Christian just war theory. But the influence of the compassionate Buddha seeking ahimsa is evidmet. There have been notable manifestations of Buddhist pacifism in recent times. In Vietnam, Buddhist monks were

involved in militant nonviolent protest against Diem regime. Both in vietnam and Cambodia, Buddhist monks have done enormous sacrifices to bring in Peace with justice Ven. Thich Nhat Hanh has inspired people for nonviolencxe. Let us quote him :

"Even as they

strike you down

with a mountain of hate and violence.

remember brother'

remember

man is not our enemy".

Dalai Lama, the great Buddhist spiritual leader of Tibet, is doing an impossible task of leading Tibetans in exile towards freedom using nonviolent means, There is no harted in him agains communist China which has inflicted untold suffering and damage on him and his people. Dalai Lama is marching ahead with peace and confidence amidst total gloom and death. Ven. Nichidatsu Fuiji Guruji, the Japanes Buddhist leader led the disarmament campaign in the post world war period relentlessly. Fuiji's Peace Marches expressed the external longings for world peace. Uthant, a Buddhist from Burma played a model role for peace as the secretary of United Nations. Sulak Sivaraksa, of Thailand has called to practise Buddhism with a small "b". A.T. Aryaratna of Sri Lanka has combined the visions of Buddha and Gandhi in a unique way. Buddhism holds a significant key to world peace.

Jainism stresses ahimsa as a cardinal ethical principle. Nonkilling ethics and reverence for all forms of life are the essence of Jainism. The record of Jainism shows no war but it tended to degenerate into a more concept of uncompromising vegetarianism. Ganadhipati Tulsi, the great spiritual leader of Terapandh sect of Jainsim. had brought in social dimension into the Jain concept of ahimsa. He had evolved the practical techniques of Anuviradh, Presksha Dhyana and Jeevan Vingyan for energising and actualising peace. *Anekanthavada* of the Jains accept pluralism as the basic reality of life and thus provides a sound basis for human harmony.

Hinduism has rich resources for both peace and violence. Hinduism has many war gods and goddesses with weapons of incalcue'able power . There are innumurrable Hindu Puranas centring around stories of just and dharma war. The two principals epics of Hinduism deal with war stories. The primary Hindu scripture, Bhagavat Gita, is a part of Mahabharata which centres around a civil war. The principal warrior Arjuna is reluctant to fight because many of his friends and relatives are on the opposite side. He is ultimately persuaded to fight by the God Krishna who convinces Arjuna that he must act, not out of hatred or hope for personal gain but out of selfless duty.

Hinduism through its Advaida Vedanta proclaimed the unity of all kinship relationship not only of the entire humanity but also all life systems and nature. It is a grand vision of harmony. The vision that "thou and I are one", places nonviolence on a firm foundation. *"Vasudevaga Kudumbakam"* "(The world is one family)", is a splendid Hindu conception. But the same Hinduism, practised untouchability!.

Mahatma Gandhi reinterpreted the great Mahabharatha war as the external struggle taking place between good and bad in the human mind, Arjuna is none other than ourselves who are hesitant and perplexed and are unable to choose the right path and march ahead. For Gandhi, *Bhagavad Gita* becomes a manifest for nonviolent action satyagraha. Spiritualtising war stories to give new meanings of peace is an innovative effort. Murugan's sword is reinterpreted as a sword of wisdom. St. Ramalinga Vallalar and others rejected idol worship and all the traditional small war deities.

The crucification of Jesus Chirist is seen as the divine attempt to wash the sin of human with the redeeming blood is a fine example of individual satyagraha. This is a central theme for the Christians. A pacific Hindu tradition may rediscover a Jesus in the bluish neck (Neelakantan) Shiva who tried to save life by himself consuming the deadly and external poison or the bluish Vishnu who himself suck the eternal posion to save life. Hinduism, thus has deep and rich resources for peace which is often rather hidden. The institutionalised Hinduism created a permanent warrior class and idealised war.

Hinduism did not stress absolute claims to truth as done by some other religions. It accepted various views, perspectives and ways as of equal value. This is a powerful resource for peace.

The west has often projected Islam as the most violent and terrorist religion. Like other religions Islam also has rich resources for War and Violence. Prophet Mohammed himself (Unlike Buddha and Jesus) waged wars and led a violent army. Islam supports the concept of "holy war" *(Jihad)*

The very name "Islam" means peace. Islam has accepted the prophets who came before Mohammed but it concludes that Mohammed is the last and final prophet. In that it has absolute claims and has a closed end. But otherwise it accepts religious pluralism and far more tolerant. The historical experiences of Islam (repeated attacks, humiliation and suppression) contributed to its rather a little harsh and milltant tone.

The Islamic concept of brotherhood, abolition of interest, sharing the excess of wealth with poor and the needy, etc., gave the basis for and economy of peace. Some reinterpret *Jihad* as meaning not war but self-conquest, One of the most fascinating examples of Islamic non-violent effort is that of Abdul Ghaffar khan, the leader of the fierce Pathans of Northern India (Pakistan) under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. There are many chapters of nonviolent actions by the Palestine Musilms in their freedom struggle.

As in the case of many other religions, institutionalised Islam is often responsible for war, terrorist acts and oppression. A peaceful riule of Akbar is a true expression of Islamic tolerance and love for others. Sufism teaches that the conquest of the self is a greater struggle than the subjugation of enemies.

Sikhism in a way is a beautiful synthesis of Hinduism and Islam. It rejected idol worship and meaningless rituals. It proclaimed that there is no Hindu or Muslim but there is only one human. Sikhism began as a religion of the poor and the oppressed proclamining peace and

prosperity. But Sikhism developed a strong war tradition and militancy. Sikhism itself became a factor to divide human beings like that of Hinduism and Islam.

Confucianism is more of an ethical code. It avoided extremes and preached the balance. equilibrium and the gold mean. It wanted to bring in order and peace from individual, family, national to global levels. Confucianism gives a low status to warriors and preferred wise people. Confucianism in practice became a doctrine of oppression and inequality. In the name of Confucian humanism, war and oppression were carried out. War was accepted as a legitimate means.

Taoism called people "back to nature back to the innocent enjoyment of the Sun and the Moon and the stars and the flowers on the field and birds of the air and beasts of the forest," Like Buddha and Gandhi, Lao-Tse (Tao) had no confidence in the multiplicity of the gadgets of civiliazation contributing to one's inner peace and blessedness. He wanted to get back to the simple ways of living and doing things. Hesubscribed to the doctrine that the least governing the people, are the best governed. He taught that the wise person is he who cultivates the inner life of the mind and character.

According to the Taoist principle of *Wu-Wei*, violence simply begets violence. "The use of force usually brings requital. Wherever armies are stationed briars and thorns grow. Great wars are always followed by famines.

Tao tried to unify the opposites into a meaningrul unity and plus bringing in a balance and equilibrium.

Mo Ti was perhaps the greatest of pre-christian Peace thilodopher excluding Buddha and Mahavirta. Let me quote him.

Here is a man who enters his neighbour's orchard and steals some peaches and plums therefrom. When this is known he is condemned by the public and when caught will be fined by the Government wherefore? Because he was injured his neighbour to profit himself.

And if he steals from his neighbour a dog, a pig or a chicken he is commiting a wrong greate than stealing of peaches and plums. Why? Because he has done a greater injury to another man; and the greater the injury he does the greater the wrong, and the severer shall to his punishment.

And if he goes as far as to innocent man, take away his furcoat and cloak and stab him with his sword, then his crime is still greater.. Why? Because he has done thereby a greater injury. And the greater the injury a man does to another the greater is his crime, and the severest shall be his punishment.

In all these cases, the gentlemen of the world agree to condemn this man and declare "He is wrong".

Now there is the greatest of all crimes the invasion of one nation by another. But the gentleman of the world not only refuse to condemn it but even praise it and declare "It is right".

Shall we say that these gentlemen know the distinction between right and wrong?

Killing one man constitutes the crime and is punishable by death. Applying the same principle the killing of ten man makes crime ten times greater and ten times as punishable; similarly the killing of a hundred men increases the crime a hundred fold and makes it that many times as punishable.

All this the gentlemen of the world unanimously condemn and pronounce to be wrong.

But when they come to judge the greatest of all wrong the invasion of one state by one another - (which is hundred thousad times more criminal than the killing of one innocent man) they cannot see that they should condmen it. On the contary they praise it and call it "right" ... indeed, They do not know it is wrong.

Here is a wolrd which condemns a petty wrong and praises the greatest of all wrongs - the attack of one nation upon another and calls it right. Can we say that the world knows the distinction between right and wrong.

Baha'u'llah, the founder of Baharri religion in the XIXth century had a glorious vision of peace. Let us summarise his contributions

1. Baha'u'llah proclaimed the oneness of human kind

2. Proclaimed the oneness of religions

3. Proclaimed the oneness of truth

4. Proclaimed the duty of making a fresh and independent investigation of the truth in every generation.

5. Religion should become a cohesive factor in human society

6. Equality between men and women, politically and socially

7. Abandonment of discrimination based on class, cultural, national, racial and religious distinctions.

8. A universal, simultaneous program of disarmament.

9. A universal compulsory programme of education

10. A universal supplementary language.

11. Spiritual solution to economic problems. All forms of slavery to be abolished.

12. Establishment of an International Court, an International Congress and an International Police force. Abolition of war and nourish it as well. In practice, religion has often been part of the problem rather than part of the solution.

Conservative Views of Peace

The Conservative tradition, in a rellative sense, has often been more supportive of war. However even conservative ideologies have espoused a view of peace, and war prevention, Ultimately peace means survival and atleast survival of the War maker;

Socrates and Plato supported war as an unavoidable fact in a violent and unruly world, Plato opposed democracy and supported the rule of the "Philoshopher".

The Christian concept of sin in a way continued this Greek legacy of viewing human nature as essentially violent and helped to develop the Christian conservative view. "If you desire peace, prepare for war" was the adopt of the Roman militarist. This concept has been continued till today by the conservativist. The U.S. Admiral James Warkings said, "preparation for global way is the critical element ensuring deterrence" This has led to the concept of "balance of power" as a way to keep peace. But can the balance of power preserve peace? Walden Bello has given four points in answer to this.

1. Balance of power situations have, infact, encouraged no equilibrium but imbalance.

2. The balance of power has always been accompained by destabilizing arms races.

3. The balance of power may postpone the big bang but it is accompained by a number of smaller wars.

4. Finally, the most fatal flaw of the balance of power is that, ultimately, it failed to prevent major wars (e.g. World War 1, 11 ect.,)

Machiavelli considered man as a wolf to others. Hobbes and others thought that humans are aggrssive animals by nature and so they pleaded for a strong state. To keep other states in order, each state has to become enough powerful.

This bleak view of human nature is shared by conservative thinkers upto the present day. They accept war as a natural condition of inter-state affairs. They even postulated that external wars may be needed to keep internal peacs, With the weapons of mass destruction, conservatives claim that they are making peace. An young navy flier, proclaimed to a crowd of peace demonstrators thus : "My fighter plane up there in the sky is what Keeps you people safe, and free to protest".

Anyhow it would appropriate to end the section on conservative views of peace with a poem from Peter Seeger.

"Where have all the soldiers gone?
Long time passing

Where have all the soldiers gone?

Long time ago.

Where have all the solidiers gone?

Gone to graveyards, every one.

When will they ever learn?

Oh, when will they ever learn?".

Liberal Perspectives of Peace

Parallel to Conservative "vision" of peace, there is the liberal view of peace. The line of liberal thinkers of peace begins from Erasmus of Rotterdam, Thomas Moore of England and

Mantaigue of France. All the three rejected war as a very brutish thing. Erasmus declared that beyond Christianity there was a deeper brotherhood, "If we must fight, why not go against the common enemy, the Turk? But wait is not the Turk also a man and a brother?" it is certainly glorious vision compared to the "glorification of the crusades by the Popes".

In contrast to the conservative viewpoint, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau regarded individual as fundamentally good, Rousseau said that the humans who are born free, are in chains everywhere. This is primarily because of social institutions and especially property relationships which corrupted the good individual. Society has to be reformed in order to bring on the individuals full human potentail as a human being.

Tom Paine and Immanuel Kant saw a positive correlation between democracy and peace. Jeremy Benthem, John. Suart Mill and the nineteenth century English liberals enthroned the complementarity between secular pacifism and classiical liberalism through their utilitarian perspectives. The significant features of their synthesis were : 1. the ethical idea of the "greatest good for the greatest number" to be applied to individuals as well as to nation states. 2. Need for reason and Democracy. 3. Free enterprise and free market to bring in natural harmony of interest among individual and states. 4. The principle of "non-intervention" as a kind of ban on war.

As pointed out by Wadden Bello, thus in the international arena. liberal utilitarianism envisioned a system of peacefully trading nation-states, whose collective reason would seek the common interest of upholding peace.

But Utiliarianism is inadequate to handle the complexities of modern situation thougth it has made valuable contributions for Peace. The world wars took the liberals by surprise.

The concepts of international law, international court and international organization were dreamed and in some cases also experimented upon by a chain of liberal thinkers from Thomas Moore, Dante, Erasmus, Sully, Emeric Cruce, Huo Grotius, William Penn Abbe de Saint - Pierre, Jeremy Bentham, Immanuel Kant, Henri Dunant, etc., culminated in Woodrow Wilson, President of U.S.A. placing before humanity at the end of World War I the idea of a 'League of Nations". It became a reality, however weak, it may be. World War II overtook it but from its asher, the "liberal war lords" (1) of world war II resurrected and established the United Nations Organization.

There have been a line of liberal US Presidents of whom Jimmy Carter may be a significant one. He declared. "We must replace balance of power politics with world order politics" U.S.A. influenced by the liberal views, has contributed to disarmament talks and building up friendly ties with many countries shedding the fear of "Communism" and " the terrorist enemy" images partially influenced by conservative line, U.S.A. has also vigrously followed the policy of "being number one" and "destroying the host at all cost".

In conclusion, liberals are not total pacifists and they tended to support war in many cases calling the other side as "right wing despotism" while the conservatives tended to wage war against all left wing governments.

The Marxist View of Peace

Marxism has rich resources for peace and violence. Marxism, aims at achieving the liberation of the poor workers (have Nots) and equality for all. This would certainly serve as the

basis of a true peaceful society. But Marxism wants to acheive this through any means, especially violent means. Once the revolution is achieved through violent means, will the victorious party give up the power accumulated there of. History has proved that communists after capturing power, often and out "good" reasons to increase their capabilities for war and other forms of violence. Lenin wanted to further develop the Soviet military in order to fight capitalism. For him, with the establishment of the Soviet State in 1917, a new source of war emerged in the contradiction between a new social system and the capitalist countries surrounding it. Thus Lenin wanted to prepare for a war with capitalism.

Mao se-tung summarised the Marxist stand very clearly :

"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun..

All things grow out of the barrel of a gun... Some people ridicule us as advocates of the "Omnipotence of waw". Yes we are advocates of the Omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad; that is Marxism.... We are advocates of the abolition of war; we do not want war; But was can only be abolished through war; and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun".

The violence inbuilt in communist states ay not be very different from of other states.

The Soviet Union bleeded under the oppressive leadership of Stalin. Communists admit this historical fact today (may be more than 40 years after his death.) Stalin's host is no more that powerful today? In addition Soviet Union paid a heavy casuality during the Second World War. Thus Russians realised the horrors of war and violence through first hand experience. Thus the post-Stalin Soviet Union started moving towards peaceful co-existence and disarmament.

Let us give some soild evidence for this. The Sovient position was proclaimed well in 1960's by the famous Soviet communist polemics on War :

"To the hundreds of millions of people who are doomed to death in the event of unleasing of a thermonuclear war. To the states that will be erased from the face of the earth in the very first hours of such a War...

....Those who do not want to exert efforts to exclude world war from the life of the peoples - to avert a mass annihilation of people and the destruction of the values of human civilization- deserve condem nation...

...If both exploiters and exploited are buried under the ruins of the old world, who will build the bright future?"

Lenid Brezhnev declared, ... only he has decided to commit suicide can start a nuclear war".

Soviet Union's shift of policies to peaceful co-existence and possibilities for a peaceful transition to socialism inaugurated an era of massive soviet efforts for peace and disarmament. This has helped humanity to safely sil from the period of cold war to detente.

Soviet Union's peace attitude averted a major bloodshed and genocidal war in Eastern Europe and Soviet Republic. A smooth transistion to freedom and democracy have taken palce.

But if the positive gains of Marxist experiments will be lost in the process of market economy. That would be a big tragedy.

Psychological and Biological perpective in peace :

According to Sigmund Freud, War and peace are manifestations of two human instincts - Dealth instinct and Eros love. The death instinct functions in humans pushing them to work for their own ruin and reduce life to a primal state of matter. Often people redirect their death instinct on others resulting in war and violence aganist others. With all the perfections of modern arms. this may lead to collective suicide. Freud wanted to divert the death instinct into a channel other than that of warfare. One can also strengthen the "counter-agent" to the destructive instinct, Eros, Will these two things be enought? Freud added two things to increase his hope; rational fear of the destructiveness and "form of future wars" and man's "cultural disposition". But we need to take into account the irrational and regressive instincts.

There are social scientists like Margret Mead who has insisted that war is a human invention rather that a biological necessity. Ethonologists like Konard Lorenz argue that there is a hidden inner resource for violence.

War often happens due to accidents, misjudgements, decisions by intelligent and rational people. The behaviour of these who hold actual power may determine many things.

But it should be mentioned her that there have existed "no war" peace societies all along.

Nationalism and other isms, if they can inspire human frienship and compassion, then there may be positive developments. But if such isms instigate violent and narrow behaviour, they may become very dangerous.

C.G. Jung has used the concept of "Projection" to expalin one of the causes of war, the creation of national enemies. "The projection of the shadow" is what Jung calls the process whereby we create scapegoats that embody our anxieties, inadequacies and fears".

The state of nuclear terror has created 1, equation of death with annihilation 2. Craziness pushing to witness the ultimate nuclear high 3. a double or dual life with the shadow of death, Feeling of deed, hidden guilt and a sense of nothingness develop. We need an anti-nuclear therapy.

Darwin's evolutionary theory in a way supported colonialism, capitalism and imperialism. There is always a struggle for existence and the fittest survives. Aganist this Prince Kropotkin advocated the concept of cooperation and mutual aid as the key to evolution, Erich From objects Konard Lorenz's over generalisation of animal behaviour and projecting that to the humankind.

The psychological aspects alone may not contribute to peace and War but often they have to be mixed with other aspects.

Feminist Perspective

Feminists have analysed the partriachal charater of war and have pleaded for a peaceful, prosperous, holistic world order. Feminists have shown that militarism is primaily a male phenomenon, and the ultimate power of patriarchy is the organized, legitimised violence of the nation state.

Judy Small's beautiful poem will explain more :

"The first time it was fathers

The last time it was sons

And in between your husbands marched away to drusm and guns

And you never thought to Question, You just went on with your lives,

cause all they taught you who to be, was mothers, daughtes, wives..."

Feminists stand for the creation of a holistic new female and male. They are for total restructuring of the existing sick and wounded patriarchal society. They are for a fully human society. A feminist voice says.

"To understand how the tension between responsibilities and rights sustains the dialectia of human development is to see the integrity of two disparate modes of experience that are in the end connected. While an ethnic of justice proceeds from the premise of equality that everyone should be treated the same-an ethic of care rests on the premise of nonviolence-that to one should be hurt. In the representation of maturity, both perspective converge in the realization that just as inequality adversely affects both the parties in an unequal relationship, so too violence is destructive for everyone involved".

Feminism brings in an entiresly new dimension to peace. It brings in forces of love, care, compassion and life. The woman's voice shakes the human conscience as its most vital level.

"The first woman the solider loved - the one from whose womb he emerged, on whose breast he sucked, by whose hands he was bathed and clothed which is the same woman who bred in him, commandments against violence he is now trained and paid to violate. To become the soldier, the real leader... the boy must reject his mother's voice ("Don't hit, Jonny") reject his (women) teacher's voice ("Stop that fighting, boy!") reject his (effeminate) minister's voice ("thou shall not kill!") and identify with that all-male voice of the drill sergeant ("kill; kill! kill!")

The hidden voices for peace

"Tell your children that the earth is rich with the lives of our kin... This we know. The earth does not belong to us; we belong to the earth. All things are connected like the blood which unites one family. Whatever befalls the earth the children of the earth. We did not weave the web of life. We are merely a strand in it. who do the Web, we do to ourselves".

- American native chief Seattle

"Take down the flags that Just separate the people

Take down the wire from the boundary

Take back the words that were spoken in anger

World's got to live like a family". - Arlo Guthric

"The basic question confronting humankind is that of its survival. The existing arsenals of nuclear weapons and their cointinuous augmentation in quantitative and qualitive terms have

created a situation of unprecedented danger to all life on the planet... The heads of state government found this situation unacceptable. Deterrence is a misnomer for unclear terrorism.

- Political Declaration of the Seventh Non - Aligned Summit New Delhi 7-11-1983.

The Gandhian Vision

From Leo Tolstoy to Mahatma Gandhi and to Martin Luther King, Dalai Lama, Nelson Mandela and beyond is a line of dedicated souls who combined a theoritical as well as action oriented commitment to peace in themselves. They have lifted up the vision of peace to new heights and pushed humanity towards peace by their signigicant peace activities. Since we will deal with their contributions elsewhere in the paper and in the section of Dalit Philosophy in paper IX. we do not take up their contributions here.

Signs of Hope

Amidst encircling gloom, darkness and death, there have been signs of hope for peace. The nuclear danger has pushed humanity towards a possible nuclear holocaust extinguishing life; The Environmental danger looms large. Direct violence and structural violence have challenged the very existence of millions day in and day-oot.

UNO and various UN related agencies continue to function. There are more than 2000 international inter-government organizations. There are more than 20,000 international non governmental organization now working for peace and development. Peace Movements and Peace Organizations have become global. Peace studies has become an accepted academic disciplines producing Peace specialists. The talk about peace is heard everywhere.

Let us quote form Kenneth Boulding

The next hundred years may be the most crucial that the human race has had to face its whole history. A major nuclear war could certainly set us back very sharply, perhaps irretrievably. The population explosion in the topics as well as the prospect of the relentessly rising prices for energy and materials, the possibly diminishing productivity of research and the decline in rate of increase of knowledge suggest that we are about to enter a period of increasing strain, In these circumstances research becomes of overwhelming importance and may make the difference between survival or catastrophe. It is well recognized that research into energy and materials conservation and productivity is of crucial importance if the depletion of known resources is to be offset. What is less well recognized is that the world war industry and still more the shadow of future world war which it creates greatly diminishes our chance of survival. One would think that research on how to diminish conflict and release these resources would have a very high priority, but unfortunately it has not. The peace research movement has always operated on a shoestring and has always been starved for funds, Our motto seems to be millions for the means of destruction but only pennies for research on how to economize them. It may take a catasrophe to awaken us to our folly, One hopes not, but we must be ready when the opportunity comes.

Let us give some quotations on Peace

"Science has made unrestricted national sovereignty incompatible with human survival. The only possibilities are now world government or death". -Bertrand Russell.

"There is nothing, except a tragic wish, to prevent us from recording, our priorites; so that the pursuit of peace will take precedence over the pursuit of war" - Martin Luther King, Jr.

"It may well be the greater tragedy of this period of social transition is nor the glaring noisiness of the so call bad people but the appalling silence of the so called good people".

- Martin Luther King, Jr.

"The Journey of a thousand miles begins with one step".

_ Lao-Tse.

"There is no peace because there are no peace makers, there are no peace makers because the making of peace is at least as costly as the making of war".

- Daniel Berriyan

"The writer Karl Vonnegut once claimed that "thinking does not seem to help very much. The human brain is too high powered to have many practical uses in this particular universe. To the contrary, real thinking can help quite a lot But, as psychologist Erich Fromm once suggested, we have to begin applying it more to creating 'human utopias', rather than only 'technical uptopias'. Our minds, not merely our hearts, can make a more peaceful world.

- Robert Elias & Sennifer Turpin

"We have guided missiles and misguided men".

- Martin Luther King. Jr

"Shall we put an end to the human race or shall man renounce war".

-Albert Eiustein

"Never in the world can hatred by stilled by hatred; it will be stilled only by non-hatred - this is the law external".

- Buddha.

Exercise

1. What is peace?
2. Compare the various visions of peace
3. Examine "Religions and Peace".
4. Discuss the Gandhian vision of peace.

Field Work

1. Explore the vision of peace of a few peace activists through personal encounter
2. Examine the limitations in the visions of peace of scriptures and classical literature.

Lesson 3 & 4

Peaceful Resolution of conflicts

Conflict is a universal reality. Some conflicts may be unnecessary and wasteful. Some conflicts may be destructive. But some conflicts, may be opportunities in disguise. They provide exciting opportunities for growth, justice and creativity. Conflicts may be indicators of deep rooted problems which need urgent attention. We need to learn to overcome avoid destructive, wasteful and unnecessary conflicts. We need to listen to the conflicts and address the deeper issues. We need to learn the art and science of peaceful resolution of conflicts. As we come closer, as the human conciousness expands and deepens, more conflicts are likely to come to the surface. For example women and dalits may reject existing dominant and oppressive order and clash with that We can never probably achieve a conflict free society (as bacteria free body) but we can reduce many conflicts by creating a just, prosperous and healthy society. Conflict resolving skills would help us to grow beyong the existing conflicts instead of being consumed by them.

There are many ways of resolving conflicts nonviolently. They may be listed as followed.

1. Friendship, love, patience & forgiving
2. Dialogue
3. Counselling
4. Psychotheraphy.
5. Negotiation
6. Mediation
7. Arbitration
8. Adjudication (legal method)
9. Creating a just, prosperous and healthy individual, society and world.
10. Nonviolent Action.

In this list items 2) 9 and 10 will be discussed at length separately. Item number 2) has already been discussed in paper V

Philosophy of Religion and Inter-Religious Dialogue

But here it should be extended to include-apart from religions, idologies, castes, races and cultures, religions, etc.,

We shall here briefly discuss the items from 3 to 8.

Counselling

In counselling a person (client) who is unable to solve his/her problem, by himself herself may take it to a counsellor (helper,). Both of them work together to arrive at the best possible solution for that particular problem. Here the counsellor makes (facilitates) the client to take decision by himself / hereself.

Informal counselling is widely prevalent in any society with healthy. Inter-personal relationships. Friendship, Love and compassion find their expression through informal counselling in case of need.

Each one of us face innumerable problems and difficulties in our personal and social lives almost continuously. Some of these are solved by the persons concerned themselves, some need help from others. Continued difficulties lead to stress. Failure to relax or relieve the stress may lead to major mental problems and physical ailments. Every culture has its own way of resolving tensions and many of us consciously or unconsciously perform such a role sometimes or other, me Let us give so examples of informal counselling.

1. A baby suddenly runs into a pole and in tears. looks for some one nearby. When a person nearby lifts her and talks to her in a friendly manner she may forget the pain and go back to playing.

2. A twelve year old girl in a class room looks terribly frightened and depressed. Some blood stain is found on her clothes. A teacher or friend speakes to her kindly and explain to her the new changes in her body due to the attainment of puberty and removes her fear and tension.

3. At the maturation of pregnancy, a women may have terrible pains; Her mother may explain to the nature of these pains and prepare her for child delivery.

4. A person fearing about his/her future, may consult an astrologer. The latter may suggest him/her to light a lamp in a temple on Tuesdays and Fridays. He/She may gain a new self-confidence (if he/she has deep religious faith while doing this).

5. A person may go to a religious priest or a trusted person for confession. It could relieve or reduce his/her tensions and guilt consciousness.

6. When a person received serious wounds in a road accident, another person may take to him/her in a healing way and admit him/her in a hospital.

7. A friend may listen to the cry and pains of another women who lost her only child and may console her.

8. A widow, who lost her only son, with intense sorrow came to Buddha to seek her son's resurrection. Buddha listened to her and asked her to collect some mustard from a house where death has never visited. This was to be used for the resurrection ritual. She went to house, after house only to listen to the tragic stories. Then she buried her son's body and became a discipline of Bhuddha.

9, Mahatma Gandhi even during his early teens had a fear of ghosts and evil spirits and was futher ashamed by his young wife's courage. He shared his/fear with his family nurse Rambha. She suggested as remedy for this the repetition of Ramanama.

Lack of informal counselling may land people in great diffilcluties. If the informal sources of counselling are absent or in adequate in a society / family / school / university / factory / then in that there may be an inability to overcome a certain problem and it may even ruin one's" life. This may be an ideal envirenment for stress, depressive behaviour, suicidal tendencies, etc.

The heavy and intolerable levels of stress involved in modern life probably necessiated the birth of councelling as a formal modern discipline. The sensitivity towards stress and its consequences and the quest to help oneself and others probably contributed to this in a large measure as well. Let us give some concrete cases presented for counselling.

1. A person may have deep rooted quarrels with his wife / her husband for quite sometime. He may not know how to resolve it by himselt / hereself.

2. A person may have a fear of possible cancer or AIDS

3. A person may have adjustment problems in a new cultural context.

4. A person may have a serious problem with his / her office setting.

5. A person may not have the confidence to face an examination or competition.

6. A person may be perplexed about a very close relative's leprosy or AIDS.

7. A women may be entangled with a drunkard husband without any hope of freedom.

8. A teen ager after facing a series of disappointments may be depressed.

9. A person may have good earnings from his job but has no job satisfaction and is deeply disturbed.

Counselling is not giving advice. A counsellor is a trained and experienced person to assist client to achieve a more effective life. He is responsible for the process of helping. The counsellor is a professional and he / she continually, updates his / her knowledge and expertise through practice, learning and research.

The counsellor if he / she is unable to deal with a "difficult" case, he/she can refer it to an appropriate specialists, counsellor. Certain areas of counselling needs greater specialisation : e.g. terminally ill old persons.

Counselling should be a well defined and time bound process and should be terminated once the goal is achieved, Counselling has become a "big business" in the West and it still remains as a "stigma" in India. Counselling should remain essentially as a human centers compassionate service activity.

Counsellor needs certain special skills and these skills can achieve excellance if they are rooted in altruism, spirituality and holistic vision. For example listening is a key factor in counselling. There are various ways and means to improve the skill of listening. But if one has no empathy for the client, listening will remain as a mechanical activity. The counsellor is much more than an efficient tape recorder.

Negotiation

In negotiation, the two parties of the conflict would conduct direct negotiation and arrive at an amicable solution. Negotiators have various choices open to them. They can accept the other party's offer or propose a preferred alternative. They themselves are the decision makers for their dispute. Instead of "win - loose" approach (one party winning and the other party loosing) " win,

win" approach (both parties should win) needs to be adopted, The outcome of neogotiation is satifactory for both parties.

No third party is usually involved in negotiation, When two parties have difficulty in considering the issues further or hearing the other's view, a trained negotiator may be involved.

A classical example for negotiation is Simla Agreeman (1971) Here India (Indira Gandhi) and Pakistan (Z.A. Bhutto) arrived at a settlement after mutual negotiation.

A family property dispute between two brothers, after a prolonged and expensice judicial process, may be settled later on by mutual negotiation.

Mediation

In Mediation, a third party is involved with the consent of the two conflicting parties, The mediator helps the disputans to reach a "win win" solution. Mediation, to some extent, works like counselling. The mediator helps the two parties to arrive at an amicable solution by themselves. His action is liable to be arrested at any time at the will of either party. The mediatora may be trained legal person or a counsellor.

1. During the Iraq-Iran War of the 1970's Odolf Palme, the Prime Minister of Sweeden, offered himself as a mediator.

2. The United Nations Mediation effort in Afghanistan among the many warring factions has made some progress

3. Jayaprakash Narayanan and M. Aram Nagaland peace mission mediated between the underground Nagas and the Government of India in the 1960's for a peaceful settlement of the Naga Problem.

Arbitration

In arbitration, the contending parties agree to leave the case to an arbitration, who has the legal competence and also enjoys the trust of both the parties. They also give up their power of making decision to him. They explain their perception of the conflict situation to him / her. His / her decision is usually final and the two conflicting parties are bound by this decision.

Disputes between countries may be settled by means of arbitration. Here the dispute is settled thorugh an international arbitrator or body of arbitrators apart from the international court of justice.

For example, Gandhi went to South Africa to appear for the case of Dada Abdulla in a suit against Type Sheth for 40,000 pounds. Both parties were relatives and were determined to run this case at any cost. Gandhi established good trust with his party and also earned a reputation among the other party as well. He saw the litigation, if it were persisted it, would ruin the plain tiff and the defendant and, therefore, persuaded Tybe Sheth and Dada Abdulla to accept arbitation. Both were happy over the result and both rose in public estimation. They resloved the issue without wasting further time and money and remained united as friends.

In Indian villages mediation and arbitration by village elders, called village panchayat, was once widely prevalent and it is still alive to some extend. But this is often caste ridden and dominated by the powerful male.

Adjudication

In adjudication, the case is taken to the Court of law. The Court has the authority to intervene in the dispute even if only one of the disputants brings a case aganist the other party. Here the court action compels the party to join the proceeding without his consent.

Anti-racists have often taken racial issues to court of law in U.S.A. The legal method is superior to the method of sword in settling disputes. But the current legal system. inspite of its many merits, is expensive, time consuming and may be manipulated by the powerful, We need to bring in adequate and creative reforms in the judicial system including the legal set up, police and prison system, etc.,

Conflicts may be seen from three approaches : 1. the nature of the participants (inner conflict, family conflict, inter-personal conflict, civil war, international, conflict, etc.,); 2) the issues involved (economic, political, religious, ethinic, ideological etc.,) 3) the means employed in the conflict (legal, violent, low intensity, non-violent, etc.,) These should not be seen as water tight compartments.

Conflicts have to be resolved. We have to exclude the violent method of resolving conflicts. It is an immoral, destructive' primitive. inhuman, expensive and unsatisfactory way of settling conflicts, In reality this method does not settle the conflict but only tries to destory the other party. If the conflict is not settled, it may lead to tension, injustice, escalation of the conflict and greater violence. Further the conflicts have to be settled well. There are three aspects in conflict resolution. Often people tend to hide or suppress the conflict resolution. This is an unhealthy way. If we close our eyes, the world will not become dark. In Soviet Union, the dedicated Marksist regime from Lenin to Breshnev put down the etnic issues with an iron hand without really addressing the problem. Today when the violent opperession has been reversed. the etnic problems come to the forefront with explosion. The second method is to find an urgent temporary and often partial solution and postpone the permanent settlement to a latter period. But often the second step in this is forgotten and resulting in an outbreak with great force and calamity. The temporary settlement often involves the pacification of one party and its consequent giving the way to the other. This is ahieved either under pressure or threat or goodwill. Again this may not last long. As the other actors of the problem change. this position also changes. The third and the best method may be to bring the conflicting parties to a meaningful negotiation process and help them to reach a durable settlement. This should be followed by other long term measures.

There are two apporaches to conflict resolution. One approach is the curative and partial approach. Here we seek solution after the outbreak of the conflict. The other approach is holistic approach. This is the Gandhian vision. This includes the curative apporach as well. The main thrust is to go to the roots of the conflict. It is an preventive approach. The roots of the conflict is treated and this conflict is prevented form breaking out. Through responsible parenthood and good child bringing up methods, proper diet and nutrition, right living, vaccination, etc., health is

built up. In a similar way, the sources which built up conflict is cleared up. Mahatma Gandhi predicted the caste and religious conflicts in South Asia. There have been an accumulatiung injustice and wrong developments. He wanted to settle them through multidimensional programmes. But other did not fully recognize his approach and then came the calamity. The conflict resolution processes has to be futuristic. Gandhi also insisted that we need rehabilitation and building up healthy relationship once the conflict is settled for the time being. Often this phase is ignored. The doctor's operation may be successful but the patient may be die if there is no proper post care.

The parents, teachers, doctors, nurses, social workers, priests, etc., are often involved in conflict resolution (peace making) process. Peace making seems to be an universal and common process. Can we make this more effective?

Conflicting parties if they fail to settle a problem between themselves, they can go for third party intervention to seek legal aid. Gandhi was unhappy with western legal system. It is an expensive system and not available to the poor and the weak. In fact it tends to work often aganist the interest of the latter. United States Chief justice Warren E. Burger recently called the American legal system "too coslty, too painful, too destructive and too inefficient for a tuly civilized people.. Trial by the adversarial contest must in time of the way of the ancient trial by battle and blood". The traditional techniques of conflitc resolution in spite of its some good aspects such as its speedy. simple and elegant, inexpensive and other characteristics is exploitative since it has a strong class. caste and sexist bias and it often tended to preserve the status quo.. We need to set up local centres of conflict resolution with trained persons. There is need to improve the techniques of conflict resolution. Continous research is needed. These techniques need to be context oriented and have to take into consideration of the unique aspects of the local context.

The skills of conflict resolution such as communication, listening, mapping of the conflict, empathy, conflict analysis. Trust and credibility development, skills of counselling, meditation, negotiation and arbitration, crisis management, legal skills etc., have to be continously improved. But the mere acquisition of techniques will not make a person an expert in conflict resolution. But a training in techniques certainly helps. These techniques may be improved by actual practice. We need to incorporate such training programme even in primary school level.

We should not overlook the importance of the issues involved. When the conflicting parties are part of a larger system, then the system can intervene in the dispute. The larger system by its very position has the potential opportunity for peace making. But often such a change is missed. We already gave the example of Soviet government's failure to settle the ethnic problem. The targest systems often tend to behave in a primitive manner in setting conflicts. They by their violent and arrogent operational style instead of intervening in Middle Eastern affairs is a good example for this, but in the conflict between nation states, there is no higher authority or system to intervene and help the peace process. The United Nations organisation lacks the status of a real world government. It can become one such only if there is a will on the part of its member nation states for that. Mere setting up of an world government may not solve the conflicts between the member states. This is evident from the fact that many nation states are unable to settel their internal conflicts. Sri Lanka may be cited as an example. The international Court of Justice at. The Hague rarely gets any case. The nation states do not take advantage of this for seeking solutions of their disputes.

We shoud not overlook the basic issues which often leads to conflicts. These issues may be greed, arrogance., injustice, inequality, domiantion and oppression, lack of freedom, jealously, revenge, harted etc. Unless a lasitng solution to these problems is found conflict will bound to arise. Each system has to build up certain qualities such as love, trust, respect, etc., so that there will be an inbuilt desire to limit the conflicts. We also need an arrangement by which the nation states and the larger system would acquire this inbuilt restraints. Mahatma Gandhi's leadership is a good example.

How to find out a meaningful solutions to the problems facing humanity? There should be the will, intelligence, sustained efforts, etc., India was divided due to the Hindu - Muslim conflict by the power monkering politicians. But instead of finding a lasting solution to his communal problem. the politicians try to take advantage of these divisions and create more conflicts. The military, arms production and sales network, the politicians the ruling elite seems to have a vested interest in continuing the present conflicts. They are preceived to work to their advantage. The deterrent theory seems to hold great weight among the rulers today. But the deterrent theory leads to greater arms race and the risk of a high technology war all the time increases.

The present conflicts may lead to further conflicts and it may even lead to total destruction. Our survival interests demand a judical and far reaching changes of the present conflict creating system. When the world order based on non-violence and justice is built up, the sources of destruction will greatly be reduced. We may not be able to establish a conflict-free society but we have to creat a society where there will be creative efforts to disputes in a human war.

In peaceful resolution of conflicts, both parties agree to accept a new position. Often this is "Win - Win" approach and not "win-loose" approach. Here both sides gain something and also give up something. But this is not possible when one side is like ' Hitler', representing injustice and demonic forces.

Conflicts often arise between inter-dependent people. As we move closer and closer as a global community, there may be more conflicts emerging. We need not run away from them. We have to face conflicts with courage, honesty, compassion, creativity and with needed skills. We have to popularise the art and science of peaceful resolution of conflicts.

In conflict resolution, we need to take into consideration the multi-dimensional aspects of conflicts, The historical dimension is an important one. We need to become free from the historical aspects - injustice, domination, cruelty, errors, crimes etc., Seeking genuine, apology - performing at least symbolic acts of repentance and reconcitiation and reduction (Peace Education and not education in hatred and revenge) are all may be necessary. But if conflicting parties enter into arguments regarding the historical events, there may not be any end to it. If may only lead to more head and hatned. The same is true about recent happenings. We need to "freeze the history" and start afresh. As Vinoba Bhave said, we need to "freeze the history" and start afresh. As Vinoba Bhave said, we need to burn all our evil and demonic deeds in our funeral fire and remember and retain only the good deeds - Negotiation should began even while fighting is going on and we should not waite for the conflict to end for starting peace talks. In fact conflict resoultion is often the results of peace talks.

We need a cadre of well informed, trained experienced, motivated, talented and acceptable peace makers. For this we need human and financial resources, education, training and research. The Non-way government liberally supports peace making efforts and that is how the Oslo Peace Accord between Israel and Palestine could become a reality. Several months of behind the screen peace making efforts in Norway led to this Accord.

In conflict resolution, one should never support extremists. and potential extremists. That may result in more conflict. For short term gain, extremists are supported and ultimately they grow into giants. This is true about Talibers (supported by USA), V.Prabakaran and Brindavanwala supported by Indra Gandhi) and Hitler (supported by Christian Churches and European rulers). We can multiply such examples of conflict situations. Moderates and good people should be patronaged. This may Case the conflict resolution process.

For the outbreak of any conflict, individuals are responsible. Leaders make wrong decisions to make some narrow, short term political gains, Leaders lead the people into wars. One has to be sensitive to this dimension of outbreak of violent conflicts.

Human right and freedom, honest democracy, decentralisation of power, addressing adequately the manifest and hidden problems within a clear time frame, pluralism and celebrating differences and divergence, settling all outstanding issues, justice, equal opportunity for all sects, participatary system, meaningful employment, disarment, compassion and healthy inter-relationship would reduce the scope for the emergence of destructive conflicts.

Exercise

1. Explain the various peaceful methods of conflict Resolution.
2. Excamine preventive and curative approach in peace making.
3. What is counselling?
4. How both parties can win in a conflct.

Field Work

1. Reflect on your own experiences in handling conflicts peacefully.
2. Encounter a few people about their experiences in handling conflicts peacefully.

Lesson - 5

Justice and Prosperity through Constructive work and Alternative life Style

Constructive work to build up a Nonviolent world

With all our knowledge and skills, it is within our reach to establish a happy and just life for all the humans. We can bring in the heaven kingdom of God, Golden Age, Ramaraja... dreamed by the prophets, poets and mystics from a long time into his world for all of us in our own life times. A wonderful future awaits us.

But the current realities are quite depressive. We are still at the verge of a possible total holocaust as well as economic and environmental calamity. We need to build up a nonviolent world order brick by brick and by individual and collective efforts.

What would be the picture of the "Nonviolent New world" (Sarvodaya Civilization)? It is not a closed one like the Marxian vision. Marx was at historical determinist and Gandhi believed in the external pilgrimage towards the Absolute Truth. It is a open ended system.

The Nonviolent world, will be based on the axiom of Welfare of all and "total and holistic development' with an emphasis on the "welfare of the last". The ideal " Vasudevaka Kudumbakam" i.e. We all belong to one human family-will become a reality. The world will be a united one with a net work of innumerable small self-reliant and self-sufficient participatory communities (republics), The patriarchal and exploitative structures will go and here will be a just, equitable and fraternal order. Economic classes will disapppear. war economics will be converted into a peace economics. Greed, selfishness, possessiveness, consumerism, hatred, anger, agressiveness will all give way to creativity, cooperation, mutual help and simplicity, etc., Rather than uniformity, diversity will be the essence of existence, Thus prevalent discrimination will go. Selfless love, decentralisation, trusteeship, respect for religions, languages, cultures, etc. will flourish. There will be self-analysis and transformation. Institutionalised religions will no longer be a source of exploitation and limiting grwoth but rather religion will be an adventure into the unknown. Humanity will move towards excellance. Humans instead of degenerating into sub-human, or animal into a super human (divine) being. The concept of human rights would reach new peaks. The individual, the community and the entire humanity will reach new levels of existence.

We need to realise that today's world is our own creation. Our ancestors have done good things and also have done many bad things. They also remained often silent supporting status quo and failed to stop injustice though at times we have done good things as well. It is a series of errors of commission and Commission. All these have resulted in today's world. To create a new world. the unjust and violent order has to be changed along with the task of building up a new nonviolent world. It is in our hands but it is not easy task.

Mahatma Gandhi amidst encircling gloom in South Africa and in colonial India developed constructive porgrammes of action for development and life. In the course of his half a century of intense political activities, he developed eighteen point programmes. These programmes may be started by anyone from now onwards and from here itself, If may begin as an individual efforts but culminate as a people's movement.

Constructive work is a growth and culmination of the traditional religious notions of chariy and social service. Marxian concept of social change and modern concept of professonal social Let us first list the eighteen constructive work programmes of Mahatma Gandhi.

1. Communal Unity
2. Removal of Untouchability
3. Prohibition
4. Sanitation
5. Basic Education
6. Adult Education
7. Uplift of Women
8. Education for Health and Hygience
9. Mother Tongle
10. National Language
11. Khadi
12. Village Industries
13. Economic Equality
14. Peasants
15. Labourers
16. Refugees
17. Lepers
18. Students

Post Gandhian development

19. Bhoodan, Gramadan...
20. Shanti Sena
21. Nature Cure

We can prepare a list of constructive work items which may be of greatest relevance today. This listing is only a reinterpretation and expansion of the original Gandhian listing.

1. Inter - religious dialogue and communal harmony
2. Removal of Discriminations and Human Unity
3. Appropriate Technology (Khadi and Village Industries-Eco-friendly, non-exploitative and people oriented technology):
4. Nature cure and alternative health care
5. Sanitation, hygiene and Environmentalism
6. Population control and recording out sexual life

7. Prohibition and deaddiction
8. The Language Question : Importance of Mother tongue and multi-lngualism.
9. New and Alternative Education
10. Work with conscience - Bread Labour
11. Towards Gender Equality
12. Care of the Disabled and Affected
13. Rights of the indigeneous (native) people
14. Caring the refugees
15. Love thy neighbour and Swadeshi
16. Economic Equality
17. Students and Youth
18. Dhana, Aparigraha and Trusteeship
19. Shanti sena and Alternative Defence
20. Science with Humanity.
21. Commerce with Morality : Beyond Monetary and market Economics.
22. Alternative Peace Games and Sports.
23. Transformative Practices (Yoga, Meditation, contemplation, silence, Prayer)
24. Communication for life
25. Duties, Rights and Excellence
26. Face to face communities : nonviolent world in minature.
27. Caring the children
28. Welfare of the workers (peasants and labourers)
29. Caring the Aged
30. Organization for a Nonviolent World

Each one these programmes is inter-connected and as a whole they may contribute to the emergene of a Nonviolent world Order. It needs to become a holistic and people's movement. Fragmentations and mere individualistic approach would be inadequate and may not fully serve the purpose.

NONVIOLENT LIFE STYLE

Life style may be defined as the totality of one's daily life with all its dimensions - the way one relates to others, how one view things, how one acts and leads one's day-to-day life, etc., Each one has a life style (style of living.) but often it is not so distinct. Most of our styles of living are part of the general trend. But each one has the freedom to choose one's own special and distinct style. We often tend to imitate the general trend and we are often not even concious of our life style. Through one's life style, one can either support nonviolence or support violence. Mahatma Gandhi wanted each one of us should consciously develop a life style in tune with nonviolence This is essential to build up a nonviolent order. If non-violence is not reflected in our life styles then nonviolence. will not regin in this world.

Nonviolent life style may be thought four levels.

1. To remove the existing evils
2. To prevent any new evil from starting
3. To nourish the existing good
4. To welcome any new good

Let us explain these with some examples.

1) To remove the existing evils.

i) Deaddiction

ii) Giving up harsh words

iii) Giving up consumerism

iv) Removing wasteful patterns

vi) Removing the prejudice towards particular groups.

v) Removing hatred towards other religions.

vii) Giving up extravagance

viii) Giving up meaningless and wasteful rituals

ix) Giving up discriminatary practices

x) Coming out of darkness and falsehood

2) To prevent any new evil from starting

i) Do not take to smoking

ii) Do not use costly ornaments

iii) Do not speak irresponsibly

iv) Do not spread rumours

v) Do not ask dowry

vi) Do not adopt bad means

vii) Do not damage the environment

viii) Do not become a fundamentalist

ix) Do not accept inbreeding

x) Do not entertain pessimism and hopelessness.

3. To nourish the existing good

i) Continue to be a vegetarian with a well balanced diet.

ii) Continue productive manual labour.

iii) Encourage use of khadi and village industries.

iv) Encourage Eco friently activities.

v) Continue your transformative practices.

vi) Nourish humanitarian work

vii) Nourish learning more languages.

viii) Encourage inter-religious dialogue.

ix) Continue to plant and take care of some trees

x) Continue the work for the disabled.

4. To welcome any new good

i) Welcome organic farming

ii) Welcome small communities movements

iii) Accept good things from wherever they come

iv) Learn new skills for life and prosperity

v) Look at the last person and help her / him

vi) Be Eco friendly

vii) Buy things produced by the neighbour and poor so that they can find a livelihood without exploitation.

viii) Forgive and repent

ix) Accept voluntary poverty

x) Be in tune with nature.

This list is only illustrative. You can make out your own listing. Changing one's life style may be difficult, One needs, will, determination, hard and sustained efforts and courage to achieve it individuals with nonviolent life style, may become role models and source of inspirations to others. They may emerge as symbols of a new age. In turn, nonviolent life style should become a people's movement. Then only it will have measurable impact on society.

Exercise

1. Explain the role of constructive work in preventing conflicts.

2. How a peaceful society may be built up through constructive work.

3. "Nonviolent life style is a sure way to peace building" - Examine.

4. Bring out the relationship between nonviolent life style and peace.

Filed Work

1. Propose a suitable constructive work programme for India and for the world. separately to establish a peaceful order.

2. How will you create peace in a conflict ridden community throongh systematic constructive work.

Lesson - 6

REMOVING STRUCTURAL (INDIRECT) VIOLENCE

and crelating Peace Structures

In an age of weapons of mass destruction and especially after two world wars and several other tragic wars, it is but natural to think more of direct violence. No one can deny that in the event of a major nuclear war (intentional or accidental), there is a possibility for total destruction on this earth. But at the same time we should be sensitive to the damage caused due to structual violence. Till now from 1900, there is nearly eighty million deaths due to direct wars and violence. But more than 1000 million deaths have come from factors such as hunger, malnuitrition, lack of knowledge and medical care' discrimination, exploitation, etc., This would compell us to see the primary importance of structural violence. Mahatma Gandhi drew our attetion to this dimension of violence and he consistantly worked hare to challenge and tackle this violence. Johan Galtung, a pioneering peace scientist from Norway, has drawn our attention to this key aspect of structural violence.

New let us explore some of the major manifestations of structural violence. There is a tremendous inequality between the rich countries and the poor countries on the one hand and between the rich and the poor within every country on the other. When millions live in extreme affluence. billions live in dehumanized conditions without any basic necessities to lead a meaningful life. It is said that everyday forty thousand children die in this world due to huger, malnutrition, lack of medical care and support, adequate dress shelter etc., inequality and exploitation. Let us now look at a concrete example. A person may employ another person in this factory. The latter's salary may be X per day (a twelve hour day) but the true value of his work may be X + Y (after deducting the establishment cost, rent, interest, depreciation, reasonable profit, etc.,) This means the former (employer will have an additional gain of Y. But the wage of the employee (latter) may be inadequate to lead his life. Thus the employer explains the surplus labour and becomes richer but at the expense of the worker. His surplus will bring him more profit and more interest. The4 worker, because of his inadequate salary may borrow money at 'heavy' interest and this would make him poorer and poorer. The rich uses their wealth to multiply it and also uses it to lead an extravagent life which if often harmful to the environment and to the society. The debt crisis not only challanges individuals but nations as well.

Women are involved in long hours of unpaid work. The most important work of child bearing and rearing is never considered as work at all. Women are often doing the most difficult work for less pay or nor pay at all. They often do many joblas at a time child bearing and child care; the role of a wife as a companion, a counsellor, caretaker, etc., managing the home including cooking, washing, carrying water, fire wood, etc., (this is more true among the poorer sections)., helping farming and caring for cows and chicken or helping the other activities of the husband's family; In addition women also may have a regular job (less paid) and their income will often automatically go to the husband family, But she will have often no real freedom, property, power and comforts, etc., Women are discriminate in a number of ways. This may include food, nutrition, emotional support, educational opportunities. access to facilities, medical care, etc Practice

of female infanticide and destruction of female fetus are clear indicators of the evils of partiarchy. There are many studies to establish the level and degree of oppression and discrimination of woman. Professor Sen of Harward University has come with a statistical calculation that more than 37 million women (and girls) would have died in India a recent decades due to the discriminatory practice. He puts the figure for China at 44 million. This is a major tragedy and dehumanized murder happening all the time but not perceived so.

Prof. Sen's calculation is a shocking revelation in India and china put together, nearly 81 million women and girls would have died in recent times due to structural violence. Compare this figure with eightly million deaths due to direct violence during the entire 20th century : This would make us to see the gravity of the situation

Mahatma Gandhi put before humanity the revolutionary concept of "welfare of all." Till now the concept in vogue is "welfare of many or maximum number. "But in reality often in the name of the "welfare of many". few live at the expense of any, All our structures have been formed on this basic. In every society a considerable section of its population has been discriminated. It may be untouchability in India apartheid in South Africa discrimination of the blacks and the natives in USA, etc., The full list is almost endless. Let us now focus our attention on the evils of untouchability. As in the case of women, this practice leads to the death / dis appearance of consider able section of its population. It is a problem of life and death for the victims of discrimination.

Hunger continues to be the greatest killer. Hunger is also a result of our structural problem, In a world with enough for everyone of us, most of us strave and a section live in extreme affulence.

Now how to remove the structural violence?

1) The bad and unjust structures should be created. Karl Marx thought power should be captured by the revolutionaries first and then with that power, new structures may be created demolishing the old structures, Often this schemes has not worked well. After capturing political power, the revolutionaries tended to function in the same old way power corrupt absolutely. Mahatma Gandhi wanted the struggle aganist the existing unjust structures and building up new and just structures to go on simultaneously. This process is mostly a collective process.

2) Individual also has a role. As an individual one can free oneself through conscious efforts from a "chains" of structural violence. And to that extend liberation takes place. Such individuals will become role models and source of inspiration. Even a single candle helps to dispel darkness. But it can become a people's movement, then results will become more clearer and quicker.

Exercise

1. What is structural Violence?
2. Compare direct Violence and structural violence.
3. How Structural Violence may be removed?

Filed visit / Work and Application

1. Encounter a few victims of structural violence.
2. Plan Steps to overcome Structural Violence at the micro level.

LESSON - 7
INNER PEACE - AND HOLISTIC DEVELOPMENT

It is often said that wars begin in the human mind. This is partly true. But the mind is also partly the product of the world. There is a relationship between the mind, the individual and the world.

Mind cannot be totally separated from the body. Thus inner peace depends on a holistic development of the person. What is development? Today for many development means increasing the commodities and external comforts. Jesus said that humans do not live by bread alone. Of course, as Mahatma Gandhi said, for the starving person even God has to appear in the form of bread. Poverty dehumanizes. No real growth is possible in utter and dehumanzing poverty. If one cannot even achieve a minimum subsistance level in spite of round the clock hard work, then it would be a slave level of existence. A minimum meaningful facilities should be available for each one in return to a healthy and productive work.

The human have atleast four different levels of existence : body, mind (emotions), intellect and spirit. We can also make more detailed and subtle classifications, But we can never make water tight compartments of these. It is unfortunate that religious and many philosophical systems have over emphasised the importance of one at the expense of the other. This has resulted in many unidimentional approaches and reductionist thinking. For example some materialists deny all other levels of existence. Some spiritualists deny the very existence of the body-Freud considered sex as the key aspect.

Mahatma Gandhi wanted harmony between the different levels of existence. This requires paying attention of our inner self as well Prayer, meditation, contemplation, yoga (exercise to the body and mind) Pranayama (breathing exercise), meaningful and productive work, silence, fasting, penance, etc., are mentioned by Gandhi as some of the ways for inner peace. This however should not degenerate into mere rituals and observances which is often the case.

Since each one of us is at a different level of development. We cannot have an uniform approach to prayer and spirituality. Religious establishments are unhappy with this reality. because they need large following to sustain their huge structures. So they encourage their centralized system and everything possible to build it up.

Prayer and other spiritual practice are not mere repetitive ritual. They are a creative way of relating to the totality. They are no just a technique but a way of life, Gandhi compared prayer to the breathe. He insisted that daily prayer may be at two levels. It may be at the individual and personal level and also at the collective level. Over emphasis on the role of temples/churches/ mosques etc. and other conventional models may contribute to more peacelessness, because our needs are new and different and changing all the time. Collective prayer is an importanbt dimention of spiritual life but, very large gathering may be somewhat a hinderance, praying together may include bhajan, devotional songs select readings from scriptures, message, silent meditation / contemplation common or individual prayer, group singing sharing or silent meditation with sharing of the Quaker pattern. We are yet to evolve a satisfactory universal mode of

inter-religious prayer, individual and personal prayer also may be designed similarly in the morning one may pre-live the day in the prayer. One also may plan to live the day as a sacrifice. And in the night one may relive the day. This may be for recdlection and review.

Prayer is thanks giving and repentence for our errors and a vow to lead a good life. It is a beautiful way to relate to the source of our being and the poor Indian Noble poet Rabindrantah Tagore says that he saw the secrets of the infinite written on the little forehead of a little woman Buddha, Jesus, and Gandhi saw God in the poor and the needy and served them. Prayer is the way to gain new light and direction and energy. Prayer is only a symbolic event. But if it permeates ones entire life, then life itself becomes a prayer. Prayful reverecne can give new meaning and colour to all our relationships. As eighteenth century. Tamil mystic poet Tayumanavar says that he went into the garden to pluck some flowers for offering to the deity but just lost himself in them as he saw his God on them.

Yoga, pranayama, viratha, etc., have a role to paly in building up inner peace. Yoga, properly done, is a relaxation and health building method, It can also be a way of relating to the unknown. Pranayama, breathing exercises, will not only regulate the breat he but also will regulate the entire system. These are not ends in themselves as some puritians think, they are only means, Virathas may include fasting, silence walking, pilgrimage etc., Gandhi had a viratha not to wear a shirt until every one can have a shirt. The U.S.A. woman known as "peace pilgrim" walked more than thirty years for peace.

Mahatma Gandhi loved contemplative walking. It is both an exercise for the body, an excursion for the mind, an adventure for the intellect and an ecstacy for the spirit. The Buddha used to watch a tree for weeks. The young Gandhi did not like sports and games. because they are greatest emphasis on meaningful and productive body labour as the greatest spiritual exercise. This is not only exercise for the body but it also leads to self sufficiency. Further, it is a creative way to relative with the poof. Jesus was a carpenter, Buddha renouned the princely life and walked out of the palace and identified with the common people; prince siddharta was infact born in a street corner beneath a tree at Lumbini. Gandhi proclamed himself as a farmer and a weaver and remained like that throughout his life.

Very often we are acting at the body level only. Mere bodily existence may be a mere animal level of existence. Or the body is often controlled by the whims and fancies of the mind. We may act on the basis of anger, jealousy, greed impatience, selfishness, etc., Then the quality of our action will be bad and it would bring a lot of peacelessness to our selves Land in othery. Acting merely at the intellectual level may reduce us to the level of computers, Without the emotions. intellect is dull and dead. Our life depends on our body, mind and intellect but if they can meaningfully work together and they can spring up from the innermost self (spirit) a holism is achieved. Acting from the inner most all self means acting selflessly. It may also be seen as acting from the core of the indwelling christ, the atman, the absolute, the inner light, God consciousness, truth consciousness, the Buddhahood etc., It can also be seen as dedicating one's action to God or truth.

The individual can never be totally seperated from the whole, the totality. Such separation would only mean death. Then as long as there is peacelessness in the world outside, there cannot

be total peace within. Tagore wrote to Gandhi why he was not enjoying the Moon. the birds, the stream? Gandhi said how can he ever enjoy the, when people suffer and die. St., Ramalingam, a Tamil mystic poet and social activist of the ninenteeth century said whenever I saw a dying plant for want of water, I felt very sad land dried up. The sure way to achive inner peace is to work for external peace, as well.

Exercise

1. How inner peace may be achieved?
2. Suggest ways for holistic development.

Field work / application

1. Trace your journey towards inner peace.
2. How you will achieve holistic development in your life.

LESSON - 8

Peace with Justice - Types of Nonviolenct Action - Non-Resistance, Moral Resistance, Selective Nonviolence, Passive Resistance, Nonviolent Action and Satyagraha.

Peaceful methods of conflict resolution cannot be used in a situation where serious questions of injustice is involved. When the party responsible for injustice refuses to change, we need to use peaceful struggle techniques to achieve justice. The peaceful method of struggle is known as nonviolent action.

Nonviolent action is a distinct form of action and it is not action, Inaction may spring from passivity, surrender, cowardice, unconcerned, ignorance, fear, silence, withdrawal, etc., But the result is the same. The injustice, the status quo, the violent structure, etc., will continue. Inaction means support to the status quo. A culture of silence will only help to perpetuate the existing unjust order.

To challange injustice, we need to wake up the people and make them to act. There are various forms of actions. We can here mere mention four different kinds of action : 1) Verbal persuasian 2) Legal action 3) violent action 4) Nonviolent action.

Let us explain this with an example, Land problem was a major issue in independent India. There were a few land lords and many landless pasants. Vinoba Bhave went to the landlords by foot and persuaded them to part some of the land for the poor. This was Bhoodan Movement (land gift movement). Then the State governments came out with a leagal measure - Land Ceiling Acts by which surplus land holdings were taken over by the government to help the landless. The extremist elements in the Marxists group attempted to kill land lords as a way to solve the land problem. It is an unethical and violent means and adds more to the existing violence. The group which involves up violence. may not give up violence later and violence is bound to have a chain reaction. The land lords who do not listen to the vinoba Bhave persuasion and who also escape the legal framework has to be dealt with nonviolent action. Jayaprakash Narayanan too used this method in specific action.

Now let us try to understand nonviolent action. There are a number of types of nonviolent actions. Let us list the major types of nonviolent action.

1. Non resistance
2. Action Reconciliation
3. Moral Resistance
4. Selective Nonviolence
5. Passive Nonresistance
6. Nonviolent Action
7. Satyagraha.

Now we shall explain them in brief.

Non Resistance

Jesus spoke about nonresistance. By resisting evil, it may be renforced and gets legitimacy. Here evil is ignored, But some who are inactive may say that they are using "nonresistance" method. Nonresistance can not be measured and it is a subtle process. Here violence has no place and it is a subtle method. Mennarites Christians practise this method consistantly.

Active Reconciliation

Positive efforts are made for reconciliation between the parties involved in a conflict. The party which is responsible is taking steps for reconciliation. Reconciliation process involves seeking apology, repentance and acts of change and reunion. Here there is no place for violence. It is a method of faith and internal healing. The spiritual dimension is evident. The Quakers (a pacifistchristian sect) has great faith in this method.

Moral Resistance

Leo Tolstoy emphasised this method. This is a moral and self-purificatory process. If I become more moral and pure, then the "unjust party' will change automatically. Through moral force a change is effected in the mind of the unjust person. Here there is no place for violence. This method is also very subtle, inwardly and cannot be measured with any accuracy.

Passive Resistance

Here there is no inherent belief in nonviolence. A powerful violent situation may demand "a nonviolent resistance" as a strategy for success.

Selective nonviolence

Here is there is no inherent faith in nonviolence. conventional weapons are accepted. Only weapons of mass destruction (atom bomb, etc.,) are opposed for they may destory the whole human kind.

Nonviolent Action

Here there is total faith nonviolent action., it is consciously adopted. Nonviolent action centres around various forms of noncooperation (strike and boycott). It also depends on nonviolent protest and persuasion as well as nonviolent Intervention. leadership, number, timing, quality strategy, etc., helps the victory of nonviolent action. The ability for self-suffering and continue a struggle is also necessary.

Satyagraha

A total faith in nonviolence is absolutely essential. It is nonviolent action plus love, truth and spirituality. Mahatma Gandhi identified this type and developed it further.

We shall study more about nonviolent action and satyagraha in the next lessons.

Lesson-9

Satyagraha : Its meaning and the framework.

Action

Action may be broadly classified under two heads: *Action* and *Inaction*. Inaction includes passivity. surrender, cowardice, ignorance, unconcern, etc., Action may be classified into *violent action* and *non-violent action*. Dr. Gene sharp sets up a rough typology of six major classes of action 1) Simple verbal Persuation and related behaviour such as conciliation. 2) Peaceful institutional procedures backed by threat or use of sanction 3) Physical violence aganist person 4) Physical violence against persoms plus material destruction. 5) Material destruction only 6) The technique of non-violent action.

Violent Action

Several thousands of Years ago, human learnt the art of thowing a stone or any other heavy object availabel at atarget hiding or keeping himself or herself at a safe distance. This was possible for human since (s) he is the only animal who possesses two hands which can be rotated in 360°. He or she then improved the stone implement (weapon) by sharpeing its edges. This was the Stone age. Then arose the Metal Age When human learnt the art of using the metals. Sword, spear, shield, arrow etc., came into usage. The domesticated animals such as horse. elephant, camel, etc., were used for carrying the weapons quickly and fighting more efficinetly. In Modertimes (after 1453 A.D.) gun powder was discovered. Rifle, cannon and explosives domianted the scene. Cars, trucks, ships and trains were invented and used for military purpose. Alroplarges, submarines, telegram and wireless brought about far reaching changes in war technology, Biological and chemical weapons, various varieties of nuclear weapons, missiles, rookers and satellites have absoultely revolutionized the war technology. The human can today exterminate itself several times over. To-day violent action has lost its survival value. We have to look for alternatives.

Nonviolent action

Nonviolence may be analysed at two levels : Negative and Positive. The negative meaning of non-violence is non-killing and non-injury. Non-killing includes vegetariansm' exclusion of capital punishment, violent war and revolution'. mercy killing, sucuide and murder. Non-injury incldes exclusion of hurting the body and the mind of other human beings: injustice, inequality and explotation.

The positive meanings of non-violence are love and nonviolent action. Love includes, kindness, sweat words, sympathy, patience, forgiving, sharing, reverence, sweet works, 'sympathy patience, foriving, sharing, reverence for all life. Co-operation and mutual aid. Non-violent action includes individual action to solve personal problems and public issues as well as collective action. Non-violent action backed by truth and love as interpreted by Mahatma Gandhi, has acquired special nomenclature Satyagraha. Non-violence also means peaceful resolution of conflicts, constructive work to build up a new world order free from violence and a new life style in turne with non-violence.

Satyagraha

Dr. Gene Sharp explains the meaning of satyagraha as follows. "Satyagraha is the type of principal nonviolence developed by Gandhi. The believer in satyagraha-a satyagrahi-seeks to improve his own life to combact social evils by non-violent action, and build a better social order by constructive work. Gandhi made an unique and perhaps historically decisive contribution to the political area. In India, satyagraha is also used to describe a particular non-violence action compaign (eg "the 1928 Bardoli Satyagraha") and is used as virtually synonmous with nonviolent action (eg." to launch satyagraha").

R.R. Diwakar explains the meaning of satyagraha thus[8]. "The word satyagraha is Sanskrit in orgin. It is a compound Word formed of satyagraha. Satya means truth and agraha means holding firm to truth, insistence on truth, of firm adherence to truth come what way satya is it derived from sat which means being that which exists. Satya means that which is in accordance with sat or being, that is truth. Thus that which is in accordance which that exists, correct knowledge of things as they are, is truth".

Mahatma Gandhi explains Satyagraha in the following word[4] "Satyagraha is liberally holding on to truth and it means, therefore, Truth-force. Truth is soul or spirit. It is, therefore known as soulforce. It excludes the use of violence because man is not capable of knowing the absoulte truth and, therefore, not competent to punish, The word was coined in South Africa to distinguish the non-violent resistance of Indians of South Africa from the contemporary 'passive resistance' of the suffragettes and others. It is not conceived as a weapon of the weak. Passive resistance is used in the orthodo English sense and covers all suffragette movement as well as the resistance of the non conformists Passive resistance has been conceived and is regarded as a weapon of the weak. While it avoids violence being not open to the weak it does not exclude its use if, in the opinion of a passive resister, the occasion demands it. However it has always been distinguished from armed resistance and its application was at one time confined to Christian martyrs".

History of Satyagraha

Gandhi says that nonviolence is as old as the hills. But unitl recently many conceived satyagraha as an entirely original discovery of Gandhi, Richard B. Gregg wrore that after two thousand years of gap Gandhi came to take up and improve the Jesus's message of Nonviolence. But as pointed out by Gene Sharp nonviolent action has already had a long history which has remained largely unknown because historians have been so overwhelmingly concerned with other matters[6].

Nonviolent action is a universal human function. Most of our day to day problems are solved by nonviolent actions but almost unconsiously. Observe a child keenly. You would be able to list a number of nonviolent actions almost daily. But unfortunately we do not identify suh actions and encourage them. It is a normal scene that a child prostests and resists in variousways and achieves the desired objective. Much effort has gone into increasing the efficiency of violent action but no comparable efforts have yet gone into making nonviolent action more effective. In fact, there was until recently so little awareness of the tradition and history of nonviolent struggle that nonviolent actionists have, by and large, improved their responses independently of past practice. This situation is only now begining to change.

As pointed out by Gene Sharp, a rich load of material is awaiting the analyst and activist. We would be able to trace the continuous history of nonviolent action, Gandhi's discovery and experiments of satyagraha interpreted and improved upon further. As Gandhi himself used to say he has taken up a few steps and we have to proceed further.

Difficulties in understanding Gandhi's concept of Satyagraha

Mahatma Gandhi's emphasis was on action in concrete historical situations. Of course he had neither the time nor the inclination to develop theories like Karl Marx. We should theorize the action of Gandhi and that is a big task. Gandhi was a continuosly growing man and a hasty critic is likely to misrepesent him.

Richard B. Gregg's *The Power of Nonviolence,* K. Shridharani's war without Violence, R. Gobinath Davan's Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. R.R. Diwakar's Sage of Satyagraha. John V. Bondurant's The Conquest of Violence and Gene Sharp's Politics of Non Violent Action are some of the significant contributional to Gandhian Satyagraha Studies Dr. Martin Luther King and others have tried to perfect the Gandhian technique by applying it creatively to new situations.

There are some who consider Gandhi's nonviolent action as something "inferrior" and claim to develop a so called "higher" type of nonviolence in which struggle or resistance has no role. This leads to a kind of inaction. Some others try to dismiss the wholething by saying the Gandhian technique is irrelevant and it is a weapon of the "saints". Some identify satyagraha with mere nonviolent action. Some others claim that Gandhi would support violent action to cowardice a inaction, Some equate him with Western Pacifists. What is needed is a correct perspective of Gandhi's nonviolence.

The Conceptual frame - work

1. The Constructive Programme is Part of Satyagraha. The Constructive Programme helps to build up awarness mass contact and mobilization and to establish a just world order.Constructive work itself can become non co-operative action as in the case of Khadi when foreign clothes are boycotted.

2. Truth is basic to Satyagraha. Of course by truth we mean the relative truth which would also have glimpses of Absolute, Truth but the quest for Truth will be an unending task. This requires humility and continous striving as well as firm faith. Truth also here means justice.

3, Nonviolent action has to move step by step. Over action and hasty action should be avoided. At every stage. attempts should be made to persuade the others side so as to end the nonviolent action.Only in extreme cases, one should go to the level of intervention and parallel government. Self suffering and other pressure techniques should be used systematically.

4. Number, leadership and strategy count much. Training is always good, Planning is essential. It is better to have systematic training and programming.

5. Faith in nonviolence should be absolute. Not by accident and compulsion but by conscious choice non-violence should be opted.

6. There is infinite scope for improving and perfecting the Satyagraha techniques.

7. Satyagraha can be strengthened not only by mere theoretical studies but by actual applications in new contexts.

8. We should aim at perfection but it should not become an excuse for inaction as in the case of Pacifists and contemporary Gandian Constructive Workers.

9. Imperfect nonviolent actions should not be ignored. They should be observed and analysed with extreme care so that the imperfections may be removed.

10. Satyagraha is essentially a universal human technique . We need not claim a special position.

11. K Sridharani indicates the following fourteen stages in a successful satyagraha. Some of the stages may be omitted in some satyagraha and in others, there may be changes in this sequence, and a few stages may be combined into one or a single may be divided into many. In some cases, the satyagraha may end up in success even in the first stage or within a few stages.

The stages are

1. Negotiation and Arbitration

2. Agitation

3. Demonstration and the Ultimatum

4. Self - purification

5. Strikes and General Strikes

6. Picketing

7. Dharna

8. Economic Boycott

9. Non-payment of taxes

9a. Hizrat

10. Non-co-operation

10a. Ostracism

11. Civil Disobedience

12. Assertive Satyagraha

13. Parallel Government

14. Extension of the pattern

14a. Human Wall against invasion

14b. A Nonviolent state.

K. Sridharani has explained this with the help of the following diagram. As warned earlier the sequence of stages has to be considered as a theorectical perfection rather then.

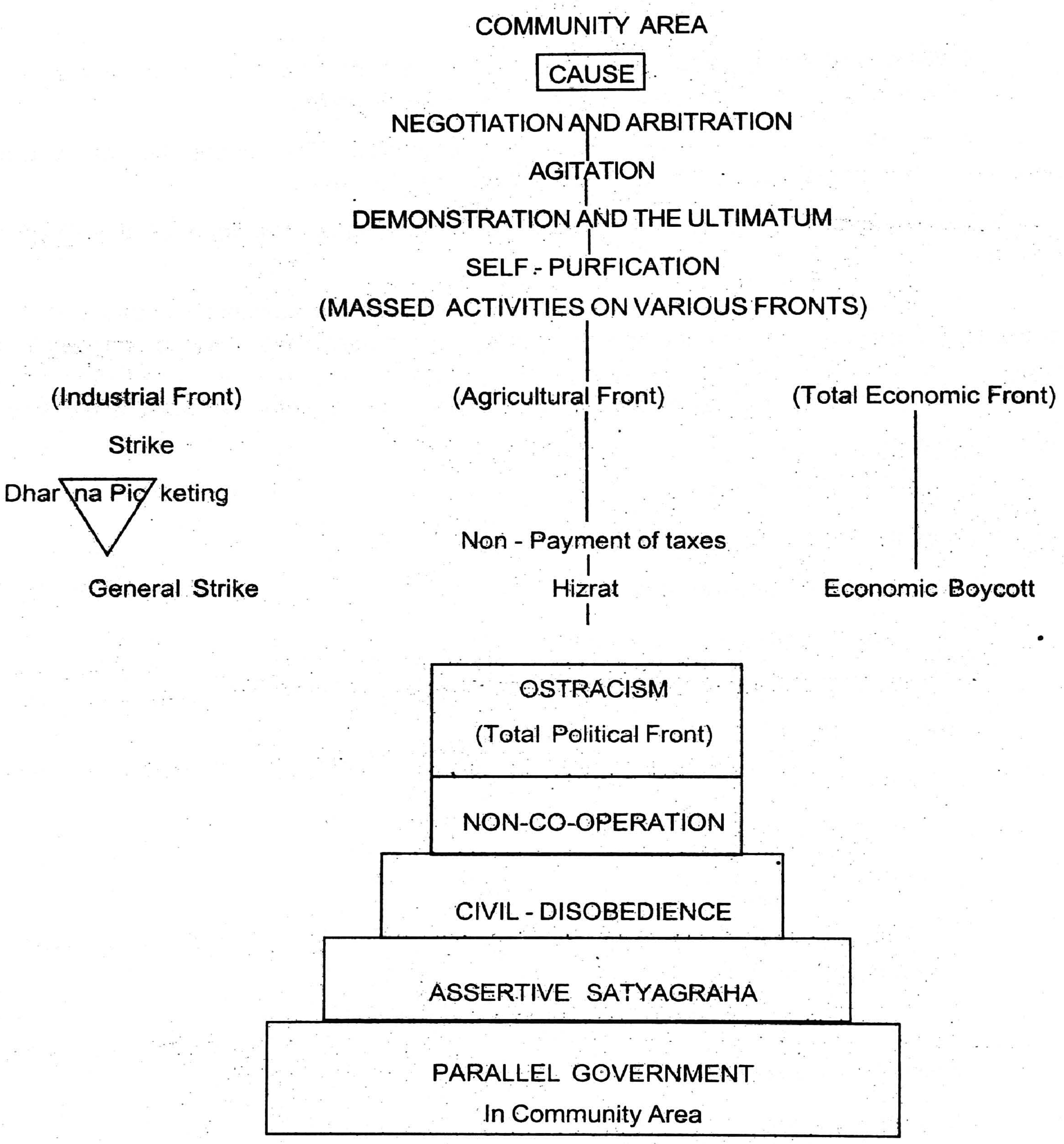

Diagram of the pattren of a successful Satyagraha

1. John V. Bondurant, has used the following ten points for describing and analying a satyagraha.

1. Dates, duration and local.

2. Objectives

3. Satyagraha has participants and leadership.

4. Participants and leadership of the opposition.

5. Organization and Consturctive Programme.

6. Preparation for actions.

7. Preliminary section.

8. Action.

9.Reaction of oponents

10. Results.

12. Dr. Gene Sharp enumerates 198 stages in a Nonviolant Direct Action and places them under six major heads:

1. Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion

2. Methods of Social Non Co-operation -

Economic Boycott.

3. Methods of Economic Non-Co-operation

4. Methods of Economic Non-Co-operation - the Strike.

5. Methods of Political Non-Co-operation.

6. Methods of Nonviolent Intervention.

13. Satyagraha is neither a miracle nor a magic. The success depends on organisation and strategy. number, leadership, and hard and sustained work. The success is to be engineered, Satyagraha is essentially human and universal, Truth will not automatically truimph in the short run. Truth for its success apart from its perfection needs organized nonviolent action (Satyagraha).

14. Faith in the power of nonviolence and the essential goodness and sacredness of the human are absolutely essential.

Foot-Notes

1. Gene Sharp : Politics of Non-violent Action. p 65

2. Gene Sharp : "Definitions of come key terms associated with Non violent Action and Civilian Defence" in T.K. Mahadevan Adam Roberts and Gene Sharp (ed) : Civilian Defence - An Introduction p 37.

3. R.R. Diwakar	:	The Saga of Satyagraha.
4. M.K. Gandhi	:	Satyagraha p:3
5. Richard B. Gregg	:	Power of Nonviolence p.V.
6. Gene Sharp	:	Politics of Nonviolent Action, Part I. p. 4
7. Ibid, P. 4		
8. K. Shridharani	:	War without Violence, ch.1
9. Joan V. Bondurant	:	Conquest of Violence, pp. 45-46
10. Gene Sharp	:	Politics of non-violent Action, part - II

Exercise

1. Attempt a rough typology of major classes of action and give examples.
2. Distinguish between Nonviolent action and Satyagraha.
3. Trace the history of Satyagraha.
4. Explain the difficulties in understanding Gandhi's concept of Satyagraha.
5. Compare the various Satyagraha models.
6. What are the essentials for a successful Satyagraha?

Field Visit / Work and Application

1. Share your own personal experience of satyagraha (nonviolent direct action)
2. Interview three satyagrahis
3. Witness three satyagrahas in progress

LESSION - 10

Nonviolent Action in Historical Perspective

Contributions of Thoreau

Civil Disobedience

Public disobedience to government authority has become known as "Civil Disobedience"? when laws are defied for the sake of moral principle.

Civil disobedience may be defined as a deliberate peaceful violation of particular laws, decrees, regulations, ordinances military or public orders and the like. These are usually laws which are considered as inherently immoral' unjust or tyrannical. Sometimes however, laws of a largely regulative or "neutral" character may be disobeyed as a symbol of opposition to wider policies of the government. Idealy civil disobedience. Involves injury to no one, and certaily no harm to innocent by standers and even to those held responsible for whatever is opposed. Civil disobedience differs from in surrection and from revolution by self imposed restriction.

Cilvil disobedience and Thoreau

Thoreau's essay on civil disobedience marked a significant transition in the development of nonviolent action. Before Thoreau. civil disobedience was largely practised by individuals and groups who desired simple to remain true to their beliefs in an evil world. There was little or no thought given to civil disobedience for producing social and political change. Sixty years later with Gandhi's civil disobedience became, in addition to this, a means or mass action for political ends. Reluctantly, and unrecognised at that time. Thoreau helped to make the transition between these two approches.

Thoreau's life

Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) a leading writer of the ninteenth century united States of America, was a naturalist. He was the arch example in our history., perhaps in all literary history, of the man who believed in doing what he wanted. The dynamic and changing new America had no attraction for him. He withdrew himself from the noisy and busy' world at Walden Pond near Concord. Massachussetts People often considered him as an eccentric and an idealistic crank. He lived not only in definance of Society but also in indifference to it. For him the quality of life was more important than the outward show. He preferred simplicity. He sought communion with nature and eternal truths. He was a fearless social critic and manual labourer vegetarianism, and non-smoking and non drinking were all dear to him.

Circumstances leading to the Essay on the Duty of Civil Disonedience

Thoreau was against the dehumanizing slavery. He was disturbed a great deal by its prevalence around him. A man escaped from slavery in Massechusetts State But he was arresred and returned to slavery. This shocked Thoreau. He said: "I had never respected this government, but I had foolishly thought I might manage to live here, attending to many private affairs and forget it.... but now I cannot persuade myself that I do not well wholly within hell"[5] He was shocked to see his fellow citizen "going about their business as though nothing has happened..." Thoreau wrote that one could not count on lawyers or judges to effect moral reforms, "to decide by the principle

that a law is immoral and therefore of no force.' He compared them to "the marine who discharges the musket in any direction in which he is ordered. They are just as much tools, and as little men'[6]. .

Thoreau was in search of a form of action which the individual could take at once without writing would for Some future political change or revolution, an action which would dissociate him personally from the evil and at the same time contribute toward has desired change. The answer he offered was a withdrawal of obedience.[7] Thoreau refused to pay the poll tax but he paid the other taxes. He said that he refused to pay the poll tax since it went exclusively to support a government of which he did not approve, as it sanctioned slavery, At that time the Mexican War broke out and he saw it as a war to expand slave territory. He was arrested gor tax refusal and he spent a night in jail and he was released since some one paid the tax in Thoreau's name. Probably this incident took place either in 1845 or 1846. His friend Ralph waldp0 Emerson visited him asking "Henry why are you there?" to which he replied "Why are you not here?" Later when Emerson heard of the passing of Fugitive Slave law of 1850, lailed it a "filthy enactment" and said. "I will not obey it God"[8].

Thoreau's short experience in prison led to this essay. He presented his jail experience before the Concord Lye cum. In mid February 1848 he read a lecture to the Lyceum on. *The Rights and Duties of the Individual in Relation to Government.* One or both of those talks, it seems, became the present essay. Thus it was written in the same year when Marx and Engels wrote the *Communist Munifesto.* This essay was originally entitled as *Resistane to Civil Government* and it was published in 1849 in a widely unread collection, *Aesthetic Papers.* It received relatively no attention at the time publication. The new little *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*, was given to this essay posthumously.

Contents of Thoreau's Essay

J.D. Kruch' is of the opinion that Thoreau's essay was basically an appeal for individual action to get rid of oneself from the evil and refused to give pratical support to it and there was less of social reform. But as pointed out by Gene Sharp for Thoreau such action has a practical significance [10]. He was influenced by Estienne det Boetle's essay. which appeaed nearly three centuries earlier, *Discourse dela Servitude Voluntarie.* Boetle developed the concept that if co-operation, obedience and submission of the subjects were withdrawn, a tyrant's rule would collapse

Thoreau recommended in his essay to those who stood for the abolition of slavery, to withdraw their support to the government of Massachusettes He sketched the political to go to prison as a means of struggle aganist slavery in the United States he continued: "A minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority of immoral laws. Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine" he work, speakins disobedience and willingness it is irresistible when it clogs by its whole weight". He also envisaged that such disobedience would be practised by the ruler's agents: "When the subject has refused allegiance, and the officer has resigned his office, then the revolurion is accomplished"[11]

Thus Thoreau's concept of evil disobedience in this essay clearly jumped beyond the non-political individualism which proceded him and to which he was personally inclined. He here

anticipated the later emergence of large scale non-co-operation and civil disobedience in the political arena in much the same way as Tolstoy did in his famous *Letter* to a *Hnidoo*.

Thoreau and Gandhi

Dr. A.L. Herman published a paper under the title "satyagraha a new Indian world for some old ways of western thinking" in the Journal. *Philosophy of East and West* (April 1969). in which he mentions. that the chief sources for Gandhi's philosophy of satyagraha... are Henry David Thoreau' "Civil Disobedience" a work read and practically memorized by Gandhi in South Africa in 1909, and a book by Leo Tolstoy, *The kingdom of God is within you.* which Gandhi read in South Africa around 1894. James T. Hunt says'[12] that this is "elaborately documented": Dr. Herman's article is perheps the most ambitious attempt to establish Gandhi's dependence on Thoreau.

James T. Hunt has thus summarised the views of Dr. L. Herman[13]. Dr. Herman presents four phases in the evolution of the concept of satyagraha between December 1907 (the date of Gandhi's contest for an Indian name for 'passive resistence' and July 1908, which are, a doctrine of civil disobedience (Phase I) employing love, nonviolence, fearlessness and courage (Phase II) supported by Divince aid (Pharse III) resulting, in the conversion or change of heart of one oppressor (Phase IV). He contents that phases I and II are 'directly traceable' to Thoreau and phases II, III and IV to Tolstoy. With respect to the former he says 'Thoreau gave to the Indian community in South Africa in 1907 what we have called Phase I and Phase II satyagraha, a method and an attitude respectively for coping with in justice. He showed Gandhi and the satyagrahis the way to give to their conscience in the face of evil and at the same time he showed them how public opinion could be marshelled and used in the defence of individual conscience. Thoreau made imporisonment a necessary and respectable part of satyagraha".

These sweeping claims fail when we make a careful study of the Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi having already initiated the civil disobedience movement in South Africa, read Thoreau's essay in the prision library. This happened at pretoria Jail where he was confined from 25th February to 24th May 1909[14]. Gandhi did not receive his idea of civil disobedience from this essay, but it influenced him later on a lot. Gandhi called it a "masterly treatise". and adopted the term "civil disobedence" from the title to explain his movement to the Europeans.

It is very interesting to note that there is no evidence that Thoreau ever used or even knew of the famous title of his essay. The words. 'Civil disobedience". nowhere appear in it. and he used the title, "The Rights and Duties of the individual in relation to civil Government", when published. The title "Civil disobedience" appeared four years after his death in a collection of essays entiled A Yankee in Canada (1866). Thus this eminently fitting pharse was the contribution of an anonymous editor.

Gandhi in his open letter to the people of America which he wrote in 1942 says. "You have given me a teacher in Thoreau who furnished me through his essay on the "Duty of Civil Disobedience" scientific confirmation of what I was doing in South Africa". Satish D. Kalekar argues thus : "Gandhi who was extremely about the choice of words, apperas to have used the word 'confirmation' and only humility has prevented him from saying 'what i was already doing' It is

indeed remarkable that these two great thinkers arrived at their almost identical philisopheies completely indepentently. And yet in his Scharacteristic humbleness, Gandhi calls Thoreau his "teacher".

With Gandhi, civil disobedience was widely developed along with other forms of nonviolent action as a substitude for violent rebellion. The transition from purely individual acts to political relevence had been made in action.

Civil Disobedience further explained

The term "Civil disobedience" does not appear in the text of Thoreau's essay itself. The English word "Civil" means civil behaviour. i.e., politie, gentle, humane, nonviolent. This meaning was emphashed by Gandhi. "Civil" also means that which pertains to community of citizens, or pertains tor benefits a citizen as in Thoreau's original title : *Resistance to Civil Government.* This dual meaning expresses two essential aspects of civil disobedience. It is peaceful and it is the response of a member of a political society to its demands and activities.[17]

Civil disobedience, may be practised by individuals (as by Thoreau) and conscienctions, objector by small groups (as by the early Quakers and the Freedom Riders) and by masses of people (as in Indian Independence movement and 1932 Reliance campaign in South Africa). The reasons for civil disobedience vary. It may be practised reluctatly by those who have no desire to discurb the status quo but wish only to remain true it their conviction. Or it may be undertaken with the limited aim of changing a particular policy or regulation which is regarded as unjust, It may also be used along with other forms of nonviolent action, in times of major social or political upheaval as a substitute for violent revolution with the aim of undermining, paralysing and disint'egrating a regime which is regarded inherently unjust and oppressive[18].

The assessment of Thoreau's Essay by Gene sharp, is as follows : [19] Civil disobedience has come a long way since. Thoreau helped to bridge the gap between individual and political actiion, though major problems concerning its theory, application and implication still exist and must be faced. As with every important contribution to human thought. Thoreau's essay is now, with the passing of over a century of significant developments both in conventional politics and nonviolent action, is post dated, It cannot be regarded as a perfect or complete statement on civil disobedience in the twentieth century, It continues, however, to raise fundamental questions and to suggest ideas which remain significant and provocative., It is one of the classics in the literature on nonviolent action and will continue for many years to influence the lives of men and the course of history".

Civil Disobedience : Views of Ernest Van den Haag

Ernest van den Haag in his essay on "Political Violence and Civil Disobedience"[20] has made a brilliant analysis of civil disobedience, Excerpts are presented here from that essay with necessary commends and notes.

Proponents of civil disobedience traditionally do not use force themselves - at least not against persons - although they may invite it[21]. To exhibit the sussive character of their acts they do not resist enforcement of the laws, they disobey by either fighting or feeling, they are willing, to

stand trial, and to suffer punishment. Thus they undermine the public and symbolic, as well as the civic (civil) character of their conduct they disobey civilly as citizens (civil) who, except for the specific matters protested, feel bound to obey the laws[22]. Further since they are usually weaker than the supporters of the opposed law, violence would not be effective. [23]

Whereas the ends of conscientious objection do not go as far as those of civil disobedience, the ends of revolution go beyond so do the means[24]. Civil disobedience is intended in the main to persuade by symbolic acts and certainly to defy laws only so far as to press for limited specific changes within the legal and political system, Revolution, however is interded to charge the whole political system and as a minimum, to coerce unpersuaded opponents, by whaterver force is needed so as to overthrow the government and to gain power for the revolutionaries. Unsuccessful civil disobedience, differs only intent (and legal status) from conscientious objection, whiles successful civil disobedience. If it becomes extensive and ambitions enough, may develop into revolution, with or without violece.

The following arguments may be offered in favour of civil disobedience.

(I) Anarchist Argument : Anarchists reject the moral duty to obey law because they regard laws an unnecessay and likely to intensify the very evils - coercion, inefficiency, conflict, oppression, injustice and suffering - they are to reduce. Anarchists feel that people are or could be so good natured and laws are needed to restrain them, or settle conflicts or even to organise activities such as traffic or commerce.

(2) The Legistimist Argument : Whereas the anarchists regard no government as legitimate legitimists feel morally bound to obey laws of legitimate governments, but not of governments they do not regard as illegitimate. All governments claim to be legitimate. But in modern times the claim of democratics is most widely accepted. From democratic view point, disobedience to law, ranging from civil disobedience to revolution, is justified, only if the citizens have no legitimate ways to freely elect or oust the government by majority vote. Disobedience to law in democracy, to the extent to which it is successful, without persuading the majority replaces the will of the majority with that of the minority and it is known as corecive civil disobedience[25].

(3) **The Argument for limitation of all Legitimate Authoriy :** Few legitimists will regard the duty to obey laws is unbounded. I do, this would mean to surrender all individual and moral judgements, and all autonomy to social authority,

(4) **As change Agent :** Civil disobedience is necessary to bring about changes in various spheres. Its legitimate place in our life has to be duly recognized. it is a warning symbol to the rulers and a mobilising force of the 'dump' public.

Problem of Civil Disobedience in a Democracy :

Dr. Gene sharp writes[26], where ordinary civil liberties exist organized civil disobedience is not a substitue for verbal persuasion and the use of the existing constitutional means of influencing and changing Governments. It is rather an alternative to political violence. This is basic for understanding its role in a democracy".

He further says, "organised large scale civil disobedience inevitably presents certain problems to the Government and the majority, They cannot ignore it because of the dissenter's

challenge in openly disobeying a law. With willigness to accept the legal penalties, in order to bring wides public attention to their case and in order to withdraw their consent and support from the policy they oppose. Established Governments will rarely feel they can tolerate open deliberate disobedience without their imposing the sanctions provided in the law for disobedience. This means that Governments, operating from their established premises must arrest the civil resisters and impase fines and sistences of imprisonment upon them. This is to be expected and when this is done the civil resistes normally can not complain. They must instead regard sentences, as a means of furthering their cause and strengthening their movement. When the civil disobedience is widespread the Government is compelled to provide the necessary enforcement personnel, administative machinery and punishment facilities to cope with the large number of disobedient subjects........ If a policy is to be permanently secured by nonviolent means, it can only be done by building up conviction in its rightness among the population to the point where it has majority support and strength to carry through its policy and to defend it nonviolently against minority attempts by violence to impose the old Policy...".

Additional Points

Every religion has resources for disbedience. "we must obey God rather than men" (Acts 5 : 29 Jerusalem Bible). St., Tirunavukkarasar a seventh century Tamil Saiva mystic and social reformer proclaims thus,

"We are slaves to no man,

nor do we fear death.

Hell holds no torments for us,

we know no deceit.

we rejoice, we are strangers to disease,

we bow to none.

Joy alone is ours, not sorrow,

for we belong for ever

to Sankara, who is the Supreme Lord,

our king who wears the white Conch erring on one ear.

and we have reached

his beautiful, flower - fresh feet".

(IV Tirumurai Hymn 961).

Henry David Thoreau proclamied, "If the injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government let it go... but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice then. I say, break the law... under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison".

Martin Luther King says, "There are two types of laws: just and unjust I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws... One has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws, I would agree with St. Augustine that 'an unjust law is no law at all. A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of St. Thomas Augustine. An unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in external law and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just".

As pointed out by John H. Yoder, neither Mahatma Gandhi nor Martin Luther king disobeyed every unjust law. Which law to break and why and when was determined in the light of shrewd strategis thinking. with a view to changing the unjust laws by unmasking their injustice in the eyes of the wider public, or of the people benefiting from their enforcement.

For Gandhi, readiness to suffer was a lexical rule used to sort out the serious grounds of disobedience from the frivolous or the self seeking. He affirmed the moral power of unjust suffering voluntarily accepted. Gandhi saw the police and the judge as a person to be converted.

Martin Luther King once wrote, "I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in fail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustices is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law".

The U.S. catholic priest poet Danjet Berrigan refused to go to jail opposing Vietnam War. He declared from underground after civil disobedience, "the system that sentenced me is the same roul system that is carrying on this war. I will defy it to the end. It does not deserve my allegiance. The principle is clear. If it is right to disobey unjust laws, it is right to diseobey unjust punishment for breaking those laws".

What Sacrates and Jesus left to humanity through their profound acts of disobedience and self - suffering to "extinction: was converted into a political stratagy of civil disobedience by Thoreau to achieve justie with nonviolence, Mahatma Gandhi took it to its logical peak and demonstrated its efficiency. Martin Luther King proved its universality and we see its various divergant manifestations, to day.

Foot notes :

1. Ernest van den Haag : Political Violence and Civil Dis obedience p-3.

2. Gene Sharp in his Introduction to Thoreau's On the Duty of Civil Disobedience, p-3.

3. Ernest van den Haag : op. cit. p-3.

4. Gene Sharp : op.cit., p-1

5. The Journal of Henry D. Thoreau, edited by Bradford Torrey and Francis H. Allen vol. VI. pp. 355. 35.

6. Ibid, vol VI. 357

7. Gene Sharp : op cit, p 2.

8. Henry steel Commager : Living Ideas in America p 375

9. J.D. Krutch : Hentry David Thoreau. p 1. 34

10. Gene sharp : op cit, p. 2

11. Henry David Thoreau : On the Duty of Civil Disobedence.

12. James D. Hunt : "Thoreau and Gandhi : are evaluation of the legacy" in Gandhi Marg, Oct. 1970, p. 325

13. Ibid. p. 326

14. D.G. Tendulkar : Mahatma, Vol. 1. pp. 99, 100. But Gandhi refers to Thoreau in the September 7. 1907 issue of Indian opinion.

15. Harijan 9-8-1942, p. 264.

16. Satish D. Kalellkar : "Thoreau and Mahatma Gandhi" in Gandhi Marg. Vol. VIII. Np. 1, pp. 56 to 61.

17. Gene sharp : op. cit., p. 3.,

18. Ibid, pp 3 & 4

19. Ibid. p. 4

20. This was published by Harper & Row Publishers, New York, 1972.

21. Mahatma Gandhi certainly excluded any form of violence in his civil disobediance campaigns, if violence is involved in civil disobedience, that is not in tune with the traditions of Thoreau and Gandhi.

22. Howard Zinn in *Disobedience and disorder* (Newyork : vintage, 1968) argues that those engaged in civil disobedience have no reason to submit to punishment inflicted by laws which they reject. Zinn's proposal would leave civil disobedience shorn of its symbolic and persnasive character - it would make invisible distinction between a person who resists the draft on moral grounds and one who dodges it for non-moral reasons. Both would free. Zion" Councel would be consistent with preparing revolution however, though not recessarily wise : revolution unlike civil disobedience oppresses the whole system rather than specific laws and may fight it by whatever means are found effective.

23. Mahatma Gandhi consciously chose to be nonviolent. It was not mere strategy. Ernest Van den Haag has failed to grasp the power of nonviolence and so he makes such a passing remark.

24. Here the possibility of a nonviolent revolution is over looked. Nonviolent revolution differs from civil disobedience in the following ways. The former is more vigorous, all embracing and total while the later is relatively less vigorous and partial. But in some cases watertight compartmentalisation of these two may not be possible. Civil disobedience may be the initial phase and nonviolent revolution may be the climax.

25. Civil disobedience is a way to express the grievances of the minority and persuade and pressurize the majority to be really democratic. i.e. to be all inclusive and not merely a 51% majority fragment.

26. Gene Sharp : Civil Disobedience in a Democracy" in Facts of Gandhian Thought edited by J.S. Mathur and P.C. Sharma, Ahmedabad pp 38-56.

Gene Sharp (ed) : *Thoreau's On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*, London 1968

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Appendix One

GANDHI ON "CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE"

(Selected by Shriman Narayan)

Non Co-operation and civil disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called Satyagraha. Young India, 26-19-24, p 429.

Every Satyagrahi was bound to resist all those laws which he considered to be unjust and which were not of a criminal character in order to bend the Government to the will of the people.

Young India, 21-1-20 p.3

If I find that even my father has imposed upon me a law which is repugnant to my conscience, I think it is the least drastic course that I could adopt by respectfully telling him that I can not obey it. By that course I do nothing but justice to my father... I have myself followed that course with the greatest advantage and I have preached that ever since. If it is not disrespectful to say so to my father, it is not so to say so to a friend and for that matter to my Government.

Young India, 2-11-20 p.4

Mass Civil disobedience stands on a different footing. It can only be tried in a calm atmosphere. It must be the calmness of strength' not weakness of knowledge' not ignorance. Individual civil disobedience may be and often is vicarious. Mass civil disobedience may be and often is selfish in the sense that individuals expect personal gain from their disobedience. Thus in South Africa, Kallenbach and Polak offered vicarious civil disobedience. They had nothing to gain. Thousands offered it because they expected personal. I gain also in the shape, say of the removal of the annual poll-tax levied upon ex-indentured men and their wives and grown-up children. It is sufficient in mass civil disobedience if the resist understand the working of the doctrine ...

We must dismiss the idea of over throwing the Government by huge demonstrations every time. Some one is arrested. On the contrary, we must treat arrest as the normal conditions of the life of a non-cooperator. For we must seek arrest and imprisonment as a soldier who goes to battle seeks death. We expect to bear down the opposition of the Government by courting and not by avoiding imprisonment, even though it be by showing our supposed readiness to be arrested and imprisoned on mass. Civil disobedience then emphatically means our desire to surrender to a single unarmed policeman. Our triumph consists in thousands being led to the prisons like lambs to be slaughter house. If the lambs of the world had been willingly led, they would have long ago saved themselves from the butcher's knife. Our triumph consists again in being imprisoned for no wrong whatsoever. The greater our innocence, the greater our strength and the swifter our victory.

As it is, this Government is cowardly, we are afraid of imprisonment. The Government takes advantages of our fear of jails. If only our men and women welcome jails as health-resorts, we will cease to worry about the dear ones put in jails which our country-men in south Africa used to nickname His Majesty's Hotels.

We have too long been mentally disobedient to the law of the State and have too often surreptitiously evaded them, to be fit all of a sudden for civil disobedience. Disobedience to be civil has to be open and nonviolent.

Complete civil disobedience is a state of peaceful rebellion-a refusal to obey every single State made law. It is certainly more dangerous than an armed rebellion for it can never be put down if the civil resisters are prepared to face extreme hardships. It is based upon as implicit belief in the absolute efficiency of innocent suffering. By noiselessly going to prison a civil resister ensures a calm atmosphere. The wrong doer wearies of wrong - doing in the absence of resistence. All pleasure is lost when the victim betrays no resistance. A full grasp of the conditions of successful of civil resistance is necessary atleast on the part of the representatives of the people before we can launch out on an enterprise of such magnitude. The quickest remedies are always fraught with the greatest danger and require the utmost skill in handling them.

Young India 4-8-21 p.244

I wish I could persuade everybody that civil disobedience is the inherent right of a citizen. He dare not give it up without ceasing to be a man. Civil disobedience is never followed by anarchy. Criminal disobedience can lead to it. Every State puts down criminal disobedience by force. It perishes if it does not, But to put down civil disobedience is an attempt to imprison conscience. Civil disobedience can only lead to strength and purity. A civil resister never uses arms and hence he is harmless to a State, that he is at all willing to listen to the voice of public opinion. He is dangerous for an autocratic State, for he brings about its fall by encouraging public opinion upon the matter for which he resists the State Civil disobedience, therefore becomes a sacred duty when the State has become lawless, or which is the samething, corrupt, and a citizen that barkers with such a State shares its corruption or lawlessness.

It is therefore possible to question the wisdom of applying civil disobedience in respect of a particular act or law; it is possible to advise delay and caution. But the right itself cannot be allowed to be questioned. It is a birthright that cannot be surrendered without surrender of one's self respect.

At the same time that the right of civil disobedience is insisted upon, its use must be guarded by all conceivable restrictions. Every possible provision should be made against an outbreak of violence or general law lessness. Its area as well as its scope should also be limited to the barest necessity of the case. Young India 5-1-22 p 5.

We dare not pin our faith solely on civil disobedience. It is like the use of a knife to be used most sparingly if at all. A man who cuts away without ceasing cuts at the very root, and finds himself without the substance he was trying to reach by cutting off the superficial hard crust. The use of civil disobedience will be healthy, necessary and effective only if we otherwise conform to the laws of all growth. We must therefore give its full and therefore greater value to the adjective "civil" than to disobedience. Disobedience without civility, discipline, discrimination, non-violence is certain by destruction. Disobedience combined with love is the living water of life. Civil disobedience is a beautiful variant to signify growth, it is not discordance which spells death.

Young India 5-1-22, p.3

Civil disobedience asks for and needs not a single farthing for its support. It needs and asks for stout hearts with a faith that will not flinch from any danger and will shine the brightest in the face of severest trial. Civil disobedience is a terrifying synonym for suffering. But it is better often to understand the terrible nature of a thing if people will truly appreciate its benignant counterpart. Disobedience is a right that belongs to every human being and it becomes a sacred duty when it springs from civility or which is the same thing love. - Young India 1-4-26, p.122

What we all are after is mass civil disobedience. It cannot be made. It must be spontaneous, if it is deserve the name and if it is to be successful. And there certainly will be no mass response where the ground has not been previously tilled, manured and watered. The greatest precaution has to be taken everywhere against an outbreak of violence. Whilst it is true, as I have said, that civil resistance this time will continue even though violence may break out, it is equally true that violence on our part will harm the struggle and retard its progress. Two opposite forces can never work concurrently so as to help each other. The plan of civil disobedience has been conceived to neutralize and ultimately to displace violence and enthrone non-violence in its stead, to replace hatred by love, to replace strife by concerned.

Young India, 27-3-30 p 109

Victory is impossible until we are able to keep our temper under the greatest provocation. Calmness under fire is a soldier's indispensable quality. A non-co-operator is nothing if he cannot remain calm and underturbed under a fierce fire of provocation ..

There should be no mistake. There is no civil disobedience possible, until the crowds behave like disciplined soldiers. And we cannot resort to civil disobedience, unless we can assure every Englishman that he is as safe in India as he is in his own home. It is not enough that we give the assurance. Every Englishman and every English woman must feel safe, not by reason of the bayonet at their disposal but by reason of our living creed of non-violence. That is the condition not only of success but our own ability to carry on the movement in its present form. There is no other way of conducting the campaign of non-co-operation.

Young India, 25-8-21, p 268

I have never claimed to be the one original Satyagraha. What I have claimed is the application of that doctrine on an almost universal scale and it yet remains to be seen and demonstrated that it is a doctrine which is capable of assimilation thousands upon thousands of peoples in all ages and claims. I know, therefore that mine is an experiment still in the making and it therefore always keeps me humble and rooted to the soil and in that state of humility I always cling to every true example of Satyagraha that comes under my notice as a child clings to its mother's breast.

Young India, 22-9-27, p.317

A civil resister does not go to jail to embarrass the jail authorities by indulging in the breach of jail rules. Of course, there can be, civil disobedience in jail too. But there are definite rules for it. The point is that the civil register's fight does not end with his imprisonment. Once we are inside

the prison we become civility dead so for as the outside world is concerned. But inside the prison our tight to convert the hearts of the Government's bond slaves i.e., the jail officials just begins ...

It is a speciality of nonviolence that its action never stops. That cannot be said of the sword or the bullet. The bullet can, destroy the enemy; nonviolence converts the enemy into a friend and thus enables the civil resister to assimilate to himself the latter's strength.

A pilgrimage for peace (1950), pp.88-89

Exercise

1. Discuss the significant contribution of Thereau to Satyagraha.
2. Examine the Influence of Thereau on Mahatma Gandhi.

Field Work

1. Encounter two persons who have participated in "Civil Disobedience"
2. Reflect your own experience in "Civil Disobedience" if any.
3. Give examples to "Civil disobednce" from literature/art/religion/newspapers.

Lesson - 11

Nonviolent Actions In Historical Perspectives

Contributions of Tolstoy - Indian Roots of Satyagraha

Life and Works of Tolstoy

Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) was born at Yasnaya Polyans 130 miles south of Moscow and about 10 miles from the city of Tulu. His mother was distantly related to the celebrated poet Puskin. She died two years after Tolstoy's birth. Deprived of maternal love and affection from his infancy, he was brought up by his aunts. His father, Nicholas, served the famous campaign which drove Napoleon out of Russia. He was connected with the famous dramatis Alexi Tolstoy. But Nicholas died when Tolstoy was only none years old. The family was often moving to Moscow and returning back. His aunt took care of him and they moved to Kazan in 1841.

Tolstoy's school days were not unique. The Arabian Night, created a fascination in him for the Orient. Then Rousseau became his Model. He mastered several languages at the Kazan University. In 1847 it seems he met a Buddhist monk from Russian Mongolia while he was in a public hospital and this meeting had a deep impact on him.

Tolstoy served in the military for three years 1854-1857 during the Crimean War in Caucasus. He then spent three winters (1857-59) at Moscow. Profound changes were taking place at that time in Europe. Marx was publishing his works and the foundation for Marxism was laid. Tolstoy's short stories brought him reputation. Eminent men of letters like Turgenen, Dostoevsk, Oakrasou greeted Tolstoy as the rising star.

In 1860 Tolstoy was working as a rural land-lord, running his village school at Yasnaya Polyana and he discovered the importance of manual labour. Tolstoy married in 1862 and Cossacks was published in 1863. His epic novel "War and Peace" appeared in 1869. Tolstoy spent a few years in the state Samara and here he came in close contact with the poverty sticken workers. He took special interest in the education of the children. His novel *"Anna Karenina"* (1875-77) brought him money youngest son and aunt died in succession. Death seems to be a frequent visitor to his home. Moral and spiritual matter attracted him. He suddenly felt a revolution to art which he could condemn as a "beautiful lie" He began to write on religion and morals. My Confession", "Criticism of Dogmatic Theologo", "what I believe" appeared. During the next three decades Tolstoy wrote rigorously on social and political matters with a revolutionary spiritual and moral base.

Tolstoy's happy married life faced a crisis. Increased involvement in public life made him an absentee husband. In tune with his spiritual and social views, he wanted to renounce his property. His wife opposed his move and argued for the future welfare of their children. Tolstoy decided to make his future publications after 1884, the property of the world and any body can publish them in any manner and in any language. This he did against his wife's wish and she became hostile. He gave up drinking, smoking and meat eating. His later publications included "what then must we do". "The Kingdom of God is within you", "what is Art and Resurrection".

Tolstoy, Gandhi Connections

When Gandhi was a student in England, Ruskin and Tolstoy had became venerable legends and he must have involved into writings or read about their radical doctriness before sailing from England. (12th June 1891) Gandhi was over whelmed by Tolstoy's "Kingdom of God is within you" during 1893-94 at the age of 25 in South Africa. At that time he was trying to unite the divided Indians in South Africa and learning comparative religion to find the unity of religion.

In september 1908. Tolstoy completed his 80th year. The Russian biographer of Tolstoy mentions Gandhi among the celebrities who sent messages of felicitation to the Russians age. Gandhi wrote his first letter to Tolstoy on 1st *October 1909* and this letter was discovered and published by D.G.Tendulkar. In this letter Gandhi informs him about the nonviolent struggle organised by him in South Africa and he requested his permission to publish the English version of his "A letter to a Hindu" and also to translate it into other Indian languages. Tolstoy sent his reply on 7th Oct 1909. In this letter he appreciated this struggle between gentleness and brutality, between humility and love on the one side and concerit and violence on the other. He permitted him to publish and translate his "A letter to a Hindu" and other writing without any royalty payment.

Gandhi wrote his second letter to Tolstoy from London on 10th November 1909 and also sent his copies of the edition - "A letter to a Hindu" and Doke's biography of him. He sent the third letter on 4th April 1910 along with an English version of his Hindu Swaraj or Indian Home Rule. The original Gujarati edition of this book was confiscated by the British Government of India. Tolstoy replied on 8th May 1910.

I have read your book (Hind Swaraj) with great interest because I think the question you have therein dealt with is important not only for Indians, but the whole of mankind".

Gandhi wrote again on he 15th August 1910 and Tolstoy's secretary Cherkov replied for Tolstoy. On 7th September 1910. Tolstoy just two months before his death wrote his final letter to Gandhi, who was privileged to receive possibly the last public letter of the Russian sags on a great public issue. Tolstoy says in his last letter to Gandhi.

" I have received your journal "Indian Opinion" and I am happy to know all that is written on non-resistence.

..... Your work in Transval which seems to be far away from the centre of our world, is yet the most fundamental and the most important to us supplying the most weighty practical proof in which the world can now share and with which we must participate, not only the christians but all the peoples of world".

The second ashrm established by Gandhi in South Africa in 1910 near Johannesburg was styled as Tolstoy Farm. Gandhi acknowledged in several places his indebtedness to Tolstoy. Gandhi in his introduction to Tolstoy's "A letter to a Hindu" describes himself as.

" a humble follower of that great teacher whom I have

long looked upon as one of my guides"

Mahatma Gandhi made a serious attempt to put some of Tolstoy's ideas into practice on a mass scale. In the West Tolstoy is celebrated mostly as a literary creator even though he still has a message for th West. After Gorbachev, and after the fall of Soviet Union, Tolstoy's greatness is gradually illuminating.

Tolstoy's Contributions

Reinterpretation of Christianity : Religion and life style

Tolstoy considered religion as a way of life embracing all spheres of life. The traditional notion that religion is concerned with rituals and 'spiritual life' is not acceptable to him. According to him religion should manifest in one's political, economic as well as social activities. He condemded the church for it perpetrated a religious freud in the name of Christ. He uses the expression "The Dead Church" According to him, church while acknowledging christ's teaching in words, rejected it in life. As centuries passed in the history of the church. Tolstoy writes, Instead of being the guiding spirit in advocating Christ's truth it followed the life of the world and then devised allegories to show people that they were living in accord with Christ's law whereas the reverse was true. Eventually he argues it was not the church but the people who abolished slavery, which the church justified, religious, execution and the power (sanctioned by the church of Emperors and popes and have now begun the task that will come next in man; the abolition of property and the state.

Tolstoy concludes that the church's teaching has no relation to life. "It has nothing left but cathedrals, icons, brocade vestments and words". He condems the strange belief that moral principles are not even needed and that religion consists in certain words about a future life and about God, a few ceremonies useful for saving one's soul in the opinion of some people and no use in the opinion other and that life goes on of itself and requires on principles except that one must do what is ordered The Most Holy, Synod of the Russo Greek orthodox church excommunicated him in 1907. When Tolstoy fell seriously ill in 1902. he Holy Church tried to reclaim his soul but he remained firm in his convictoring Tolstoy died on 5th November 1910. The Most Holy Synod forbade all memorial services but throughout Russia it was a day of public mouring.

Tolstoy has firm faith in the following principles of Jesus Christ. 1. Anger destroys the good of life and that one must not bear ill will to others. Tolstoy says that he now knows that man alone is superior to others who humbles himself before others and is the servant of all that what he formerly regarded as good and lofty-honours, fame, education, riches, food and dress he now regards as mean and bad whereas peasent's life, obscurity, poverty and simplicity of surroundings have become for him good and noble.

2. The adulterous just is harmful.

3. One must not obey anyone but God.

4. Man's welfare is possible only when he labours for others and not for himself. It is delusion that llife can be secured by defending oneself and one's property. Violence will wither away, so to speak, if each one seeks poverty and humiliation, renounces property and refuses to defend self and him others or to serve the government in any capacity in which force or violence are required.

5. The differentiation and seperation of one country from the other is false and a kind of delusion. One's individual welfare is bound up with that of all peoples of the earth. Such, a union cannot be severed by frontiers, for all men everywhere are equals and brothers. Patriotism and love of country is the "gross fraud". Hospitality to other nation is unnatural and the result of an insane education.

"Thou shall not kill"

"Thou shall do no murder"

"For all they take up the sword"

shall perish with the sword".

Tolstoy in his last letter to Gandhi written on 7th Sep:1910 writes thus:

The law of love has been promulgated by all the philosophies. Indian, Chinese, Hebrew, Greek and Roman I think that it had been most clearly expressed by Christ, who said that law is contained both the law and the prophe's. But he has done more; anticipating the deformation to which that law is exposed he indicated directly the danger of such deformation which is natural to people who live only for wordly interests. The danger consists precisely in permitting one self to defend those interests by violence; that is to say as has expressed, returning blow by blows and taking back by force things that have been taken from us, and so forth Christ know also, just as all reasonable human beings must know, that the employment of violence is incompatible with love, which is the fundamental law of life. He knew that, once violence is admitted, it doesn't matter in even a single case, the law of love is thereby rendered futile. This is to say that the law of love ceases to exist. The whole Christian civilization, so brilliant on the exterior, has grown upon this misunderstanding and this flagrant and strange contradictions, sometimes conscious but mostly unconscious.

In reality as soon as resistance is admitted by the side of love, love no longer exists and cannot exist, as the law of existence; and if the law of love cannot exist, there remains no other law except that of violence that is the right of th mighty. It was thus that the Christian Society has lived during the nineteen centuries; it is a fact that all the time people were following only violence in the organization of society. But the difference between the ideals of Christian people and that of other nations lies only in this; that in Christianity the law of love had been expressed so clearly and definitely as has never been expressed in other religious doctrine; that the Christian world had solemnly accepted that law, although at the same time it had permitted the employment of violence and on that violence it had constructed its whole life. Consequently the life of the christian people is an absolute contradiction between their profession and the basis of their life; contradiction between love recognized as the law of life, and violence recognised as inevitable in different departments of life like governments, tribunals, army, etc which are recognised and praised. That contradiction developed with the inner development of the Christian world and has attained its paroxysm in recent days.

At present the question poses itself, evidently in the following manner; either it must be admitted that we do not recognize any discipline, religious or moral and that we are guided in the

organization of life only by the law of force, of that all the taxes that we exact by force; the judicial and police organization and above all the army must be abolished.

Thus spring, in the religious examination of a secondary school for girls in Moscow, the professor of catechism as well as the Bishop had questioned the young girls on the ten commandments and above all on the sixth 'Thou shall not kill'.

When the examiner received a good reply the Bishop generally paused for another questions : Is a killing proscribed by the sacred Law always and in all cases? And the poor young girls pervetted by their teachers must reply : No not always : killing is permitted during war and for the execution or criminals. However one of those unfortunate girls (what I relate is not a fiction but a fact that has been transmitted to me by an eye-witness) having been asked the same question, "Is killing always a crime?" was moved deeply blushed and replied with decisions, "Yes, always". To all the sophisticated questions habitual to the Bishop she replied with firm conviction, killing is always forbidden in the Old Teastament as well as by Christ who not only forbids killing but wickedness against our neighbours Inspite of all his oratorical talent and all his imposing grandeur, he Bishop was obliged to bear a retreat and the young girl came out victorious ...

Tolstoy without any hesitiation condemned killings either in war or revolution or by way of punishment. He gave the full meaning of the word 'non-killing' Further he was for the Law of Love Mahatma Gandhi condemned killing under any circumstance and developed the law of love as against the law of violence in his satyagraha campaigns. Further he took it to the masses Where Tolstoy leaves, Gandhi begins and develops it further.

Tolstoy rejected army and police in total without any shadow of doubt. They specialised in killing and so they have absolutely no place in the scheme of love. Further he said that the military represented immorality and so to be abolished.

Leo Tolstoy's letter to a Seargent (1890) is reproduced here without any change.

"You are surprised that soldiers are taught that in certain cases and in war it is permissable to kill, whereas in the Scriptures which are acknowledged as sacred by those who teach this there is nothing resembling such an authorisation. But there is the opposite not only is all killing of people forbidden, but also all abuse of other people, it is forbidden to do others what you would not want done to you; You ask: "Is this not deceit" for whose benefit is it done?"

Yes, this is deceit, done for the benefit of those who are accustomed to live on the sweat and blood of other people for their own purposes have perverted and to pervented the teaching of Christ, given in people for their good but now, its perverted state, become a main source for all the ills of mankind.

It has come about in this fashion.

For the government and all those people of the upper classes; who side with the government and live on the labour of others, it is necessary to have a means of power over the working people the means for this is the army. Defence against external enemies is only an excuse. The German government frightens its people with the Russians as the French frightens

its people with the German, the Russian government frightens its with the French and Germans and thus do all the governments. But the Germans, the Russians, the French not only do not want to go war with their neighbours and other peoples. but, living with them in peace, fear, war, worse than anything in the world. The governments and the idle upper classes, in order to have an excuse for their power over the working people, behave like the gypsy who whips his horse round the corner and then pretends that he cannot hold it back. They execute their own people and other government and then pretend that for the good or for the defence to their people they cannot declare war, which once again occurs of the advantage only of the generals, officers, officials, merchants and the rich classes in general. In reality wars are only the inevitable consequence of the existence of troops: the troops themselves are necessary to the government only as a means of power over their working people.

This is a criminal business, but worst of all is the fact that governments, in order to have a reasonable basis for their power over the peoples, have had to pretend that they are fulfilling the highest religious teaching known to men that is, the Christian and in that teaching educate their subjects. This teaching in its essence, is contrary not only to killing but to all violence as well and therefore for governments to exercise power over peoples also considering themselves, Christians. It was necessary to pervert Christianity and conceal its true meaning from the people and deprive men of that good which Christ brought them.

This perversion of Christianity was carried out long ago, still in the time of Emperor Constantine, the scoundrel who colonized on this account. All subsequent governments especially ours, try with all their might to maintain this perversion and not allow the people to see the true meaning of Christianity, the people would understand that governments with their taxes, soldiers, goals, gallows and priests who deceive are not only not the pillars of Christianity, as they themselves make out, but the greatest enemies of it.

In consequence of this perversion they are also produce those deceptions which have struck you, and all those terrible evils from which the people suffer.

The people are crushed, robbed, poverty-stricken, ignorant desolate. Why? Because the land is in the hands of the rich the people enslaved in factories, works, by wages, because taxes are taken form the worker, cash value of his work is reduced and the cost of what is necessary to him is driven up. How is it possible to escape from this? Take the land from the rich? But if this is done, the soldiers will come, kill the rebels and put them in prison. Take the factories, the works? It will be the same Hold a Strike? But this will never succeed. The rich will hold out longer than the workers, the troops will always be on the side of capitalists. The people will never extricate themselves from that poverty in which they are kept so long as the troops are in the power of the ruling classes.

But who are these troops who hold the people thus in there all? Who are these soldiers who will shoot at peasants taking possession of the land and at strikers, if they do not disperse and smugglers bringing in goods duty-free who will put in prison and keep there those who refuse to pay? The soldiers are those very peasants from whom the land was taken away those very strikers, who want raise their wages those very tax-payers who want to free themselves from their payments.

Why then do these people shoot on their brothers? Because it has been instilled into them that oath, which they were compelled to take on entering the service, is binding upon them and that while generally speaking, it is forbidden to kill people it is permissible at the command of the authorities that is, there is worked on them that self-same deception which has struck you. But the question then arises : be what means can sensible people, often literate and even educated, believe such transparent falsehood? However little education a man may have had, he still cannot fail to know the Christ, in whose name they reach him to kill, not only for had killing, but taught gentleness, humbleness, forgiveness of injuries, love for enemies; he cannot avoid seeing that therefore he cannot on the basis of Christian teaching, pledge himself in advance to kill all those whom he is ordered to.

The question is how sensible people believe, as have believed and as do believe all now undergoing military service such obvious deceit? The answer to this question is that people are taken in not by this deception alone, but are prepared from childhood for this goal by a series of deception, a whole system of deception, which is called the Orthodox faith and which is nothing other than the crudest idolatry. According to this faith people are instructed that God is a trinity, that besides this trinitarian god, there is Queen of heaven and besides this queen, there are in addition various saints, bodies which have not decomposed and besides saint's spoken of gods and celestial queens by which it is necessary to place candles and pray with the hands; and that the most important and scared thing in the world is the mass which the priest makes with wine and bread behind the partition on sundays, that afterwards when the priest has whispered over them the wine will be not wine and the bread not bread but the blood and body of one the three gods and so fourth. All this is stupid, meaningless that there is not the slightest possibility of understanding what it all means and surely those who teach this faith do not command people to understand but command them only to believe; and people brought up to this childhood believe in any nonsense that they are told. When the people are so stupified that they believe that God hangs in the corner or dwells in the water at mass which the priest gives them on a spoon that to kiss a board on saint's relies and place candles by them is useful both for this life and for the future, then when the authorities summon them to military service, there they deceive them as they want assuring them that according to the law of Christ you may kill and forcing them first to swear on the Gospels (in which it is forbidden to swear) that they will do that very thing that is forbidden in those Gospels and then teaching them that to kill people at the order of the authorities is not a sin, but that it is a sin not to obey the authorities and so forth.

So that the deception of the soldiers, consisting in the fact that it is instilled into them that one may without sin kill people at the command of the authorities does not stand apart, but is connected with a whole system of deceptions without which this deception would be ineffective.

Only a man who is quite stupefied by that false, so-called Orthodox Faith, which is presented to him as the Christian, can believe that for a Christian there is no sin in entering on military service, promising to obey blindly every man who is considered a superior officer and under the will of another man instructed in killing and then to commit that crime most dread fully prohibited by all laws.

A man, free from the deceit of the so-called orthodox false Christian faith will never believe this.

Hence it comes about that so-called sects that is Christian rejecting the teaching of Orthodoxy and ackowledging the teaching of Christ, as it was started in the Gospels and especially in the Sermon on the Mount never fall into that deception and have always refused to be soldiers acknowledging it to be incompatible with Christianity and preferring to bear every kind of torture as hundreds of thousands of people now do in Russia (Dukhobors Molokans) Austria (Nazarenes) Sweedon, Switzerland and Germany (Evangalicals). The government knows this and therefore watches them with such fear and attention as it does in order that the general deceit of the church, without which its power would be impossible should be accomplished right (from childhood upon all children and be ceaselessly maintained lest a single man should threaten it. Yet the government allows both drunkedness and debauchery (and not only allows but encourages drunkedness and debauchery this helps stuperfaction) but oppose with all its power that which would enable people, by freeing themselves from deceit to liberate others also.

The Russian government carries out this deception with particular brutality and perficy. It orders all its subjects threatening them with punishment if they do not obey to baptize their children in infancy in the false so called Orthodox Faith. When the children have been christened, that is are considered orthodox, then on pain of punishment under the penal code they are forbidden to discuss that faith in which without their consent they were christened and for such discussion of his faith just as for leaving it and transferring to another they are subjected to punishment. So that it cannot be said of the Russian people that they believe in the orthodox faith; they do not know whether they believe or do not because all were converted to this faith when they were infants; they are kept in this faith forcibly thrust on them by fear of punishment. All Russian people caught in Orthodox , are kept in it by insidiens deception and cruel violence.

Availling itself that power which it has, the government propagates and maintains the deception, while the deception maintains its power.

And therefore the one means of delivering men from all their sufferings consists in freeing them from the false faith instilled into them by the government and adopting that true Christian teaching which is concealed by this false teaching. "This true Christian teaching is very simple, clear and accessible to all just as Christ said, But it is simple and accessible only when a man is freed from those lies in which we are all educated and which are presented to us as divine truth.

It is impossible to pour some necessary thing into a vessel which is full of unnecessary things. You must first pour out of it what is unnecessary. It is necessary first to understand that all the tales of how God supposedly created the world 6,000 years ago and how Adam transgressed and how the human race fell and both the son of God and God being born of a virgin came into the world and stoned for it and all the fables of the Bible and the Gosples, and all the lives of the saints and stories of miracles, icons and relics are essentially nothing other than a crude mixture of the superstitions of the European peoples and the deceptions, of the clergy. Only to a man absolutely freed from these deceptions, can be accessible and intelligible the simple and clear teaching of Christ, which does not require interpretations of any kind and which it is impossible not to understand.

This teaching does not say anything about the beginning or the end of the world or of God or of his design in, general of that which we cannot know, and besides is not necessary for us to know, but speaks only of that which it is necessary for a man to do to be saved, that is, to live in the best way from birth to death that life in which he came into this world. For this it is necessary to behave towards others as we should wish them to behave toward us. In this is the whole law and the prophets Christ said.

In order for us to behave like that, we do not need icons nor relices nor church services, nor priests, nor histories of the saints, nor catechism, nor government, but on the contrary we need absolute freedom from all this because to behave towards others as you would wish them to behave towards you is only possible for a man free from those tables which priests offer to him as the only truths and bound with other people by promises to behave as he is commanded. Only then will a men be in a condition to fulfil not his own will or other people's but the will of God.

The will of God is not that we should conquer and oppress the weak, but that we should acknowledge all man as brothers and serve one another.

These then are the thoughts that your letter has aroused to. I shall be very glad if they clarify the questions occupying you.

(This new translation has been made from the Russian text of the Jubliee Edition of the Collected. Works of Leo Tolstoy, Moscow, vol 90, 1958 pages 54, 59)

Tolstoy's Influence

Gandhi made a serious attempt to put some of Tolstoy's ideas into practice in the West, Tolstoy the literacy creator still remains of supreme significance, but as a social and political philosopher his prestige has suffered much. Even in Russia, influence of the teachings of Tolstoy is yet to be seen.

Gandhi developed Tolstoy's concept of non-resistence into a full fledged concept of Satyagraha resisting evil with non-violence. It is interesting to note that Tolstoy has himself acknowledged this in his letter to Gandhi. Some in recent times, have misrepresented. Gandhi's satyagraha as something inferior and such people glorify inactions as an idealised non-resistance to evil. They talk in terms of spiritual action by meditation, withdrawal and a culture of 'silence'. But Gandhi like Tolstoy was an activist in secular terms. Tolstoy meant by "non-resistance to evil" resisting evil with good or nonviolence. Gandhi understood this well and went further.

Gandhi developed his concept of Satyagraha by synthesising his original genius with the historical experiments and the insights of great thinkers like Thoreau and Tolstoy. Gandhi developed nonviolence where Tolstoy left it.

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Appendix-1

Select Quotations from Leo Tolstoy

(From On Civil Disobedience and nonviolence, New York, 1967)

"Every recognition of a truth by man, or rather, every deliverance from a error, as in the case of slavery before our eyes is always attained through a conflict between the awakening conscience and the inertia of the old condition.

At first the inertia is so powerful, the conscience so weak that the first attempt to escape from error is met only with astonishment. The new truth seems madness. Is it proposed to live without slavery? Then who will work? Is it proposed to live without fighting? Then everybody will come conquer us.

But the power of conscience grows, inertial weakens and astonishment is changing to sneer and contempt. "The Holy Scriptures acknowledge masters and slaves. These relations have always been and now come these wise acres who want to change the Whole world". So men spoke concerning slavery "All the scientists and philosophers recognise the lawfulness and even sacredness of war; and are we immediately to believe that there is no need of war?

So men speak concerning war. But conscience continues to grow and to become clear; the number increases of those who recognize the new truth and sneer and contempt give place to suberfuge and trickery. Those who support the error make slow to understand and admit the incongruity and cruelty of the practice they defined, but think its abolition impossible just now,so delaying its abolition indefinitely."Who does not know that slavery is an evil? But men are not yet ripe for freedom and liberation will produce horrible disasters" - men used to say concerning slavery, forty years ago, who does not know war is an evil? But while mankind is still so bestial. obolition of armies will do more harm than good", men say concerning war today.

Neverthless, the idea is doing its work; it grows it burns the falsehood; and the time has come when the madness, the uselessness, the harmfulness and wickedness of the error are so clear as it happened in the 1860's with slavery in Russia and America that even now it is impossible to justify it such is the present position as to war, Just as, in the eighteen sixties, attempts were made to justify slavery, but only to maintain it;so today no main attempts any longer to justify war and armies, but only tries, in silence to use the inertia which still supports them,knowing very well that this cruel and immoral organization for murder which seems so powerful may at any moment crumble down, never more to be raised ... (pp. 15-17)

"... The salvation of Europe, of the whole Christian world comes not by being girt with swords, like brigands, as in wilhelm's picture; not by rushing across seas to kill one brethern; but oppositely by casting off that survival of barbarism, patriotism and having renounced it, by disarming; showing the oriental nations, an example, not of savage patriotism and ferocity, but that one of brotherly life which has been taught to us by Christ". (pp. 111-112)

"Armies will first diminish and then disappear, only when public opinion brands with contempt those who, whether from fear, or for advantage, sell their liberty and enter the ranks of those murder, called soldiers; and when the men now ignored and even blamed. Who, in despite

of all the persecution and suffering they have borne - have refused to yield the control of their actions into the hands of others and become the tool of murder - are recognized by public opinion to be the foremost champions and benefactors of mankind. Only then will armies frist diminish and then quiet disappear. new are in the life of mankind will commence and that time is near. (pp. 118-119)

"....Government is violence, Christianity is weakness,non-resistance, love and therefore, government cannot be Christian and a man who wishes to be a Christian must not serve government. (p. 129)

"If only every King Emperor and President would understand that his work of organizing armies is not an honourable and important duty, as his flatterers persuade him it is but a most of murder. If only every private individual understands that the payment of taxes which helps to equip soldiers and above all, military service, are not immaterial but highly immoral actions, by which he not only permits murder, but takes part in it himself-then this power of the kings and emperors which arouses indignation and causes them to be killed, would come to an end of itself.

And so the Alexanders, Carnots, Humberts and others should not be killed, but it ought to be shown them that they are murderers and above all, they should not be allowed to kill none their orders to murder should not be obeyed" (p-161)

Appendix - II

GANDHI-TOLSTOY CORRESPONDENCE

In September, 1908 Tolstoy completed his 80th year, Amongst the celebrities, who sent messages of felicitations to the Russians sage the Russian biographer of Tolstoy noticed the name of Gandhi.So there is a special significance in the date of the first letter written by Gandhi from London the Ist October 1909. which was luckly discovered by our friend Mr.G.D.Tendulkar (published in the National Herald Lucknow on October 1 1949). This letter, declared "missing" by most writers on Tolstoy was the first of the series of correspondence between Tolstoy and Gandhi and it will be cherished by all interested in the spiritual collaboration between the East and the West. Tolstoy as we know has been studying Oriental religions for years; and from his Diary dated 14 September, 1896 we find that a copy of Swami Vivekanand's Raja Yoga was sent by an Indian Mr.Toda, to him from America. In 1901 a Bengali Sannyasi Baba Premanada Bharati of the Vaishnava denomination, then resident in California, wrote a letter from Los Angeles to Tolstoy who kept on corresponding with him, Tolstoy took so much interest on a booklet Krishna (1904) of Baba Bharati that he arranged for the translation of the same into Russian. In this connection we find that Tolstoy. in replying to Gandhi on the 7th October, 1909 definitely recorded.

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* Yoga Philosophy : Lectures on Raja Yoga or conquering internal nature by Swami Vivekanda, New York 1896.

Gandhi addressed his third letter to Tolstoy on the 10th April, 1910 announcing that the Gujarati version of his Hind Swaraj had been confiscated by the Government of India and that he was sending him the South Africa Adition, and of "A Letter to a Hindu". On the 8th of May, 1910.

Tolstoy acknowledged receipt of Gandhi's "Indian Home Rule" and his biography by Doke. But he regrets the shortness of his letter owing to a sudden setback in his health, which will soon bring his career to an end. Gandhi wrote again on the 15th of August 1910 to which Tolstoy's secretary Mr.Chertkav replied for Tolstoy.

On the 7th of September, 1910 Tolstoy, just two months before his death, wrote his final letter to Gandhi, who was privileged to receive possibly the last public letter of the Russia sage on a great public issue.

(i)

Westminister Palace Hotel
4, Victoria Street,
London S.W.
1st October,1909

To Count Leo Tolstoy
Sir,

I take the liberty of inviting your attention to what has been going on in the Transvaal (South Africa) for nearly three years.

"There is in that colony a British Indian population of nearly 13,000. These Indians have for several years laboured under the various legal disabilities. The prejudice against colour and in some respect against Asiatics is intense in that colony. It is largely due, so far as Asiatics are concerned to trade jealously. The climax was reached three years ago, with a law which i and many others considered to be degrading and calculated to unman those to whom it was applicable.I felt that submission to law of this nature was inconsistent with the spirit of true religion. I and some of my friends were and still are firm believers in the doctrine of non resistance to evil. I had the privilege of studying your writings also, which left a deep impression on my mind. British Indians. before whom the position was fully explained, accepted the advice that we should not submit to the legislation, but that we should suffer imprisonment, or whatever other penalities the law may impose for its breach. The result has been that nearly one half of the Indian Population that was unable to stand the heat of the struggle, to suffer the hardships of imprisionment, have withdrawn from the Transvaal rather than submit to law which they have considered degarding. Of the other half, nearly 2,500 have for conscience's sake allowed themselves to be imprisioned, some as many as five times. The imprisionments have varied from four days to six months; in the majority of cases with hard labour. Men have been financially ruined. At present there are over hundred passive resistence in the Transvaal goals. Some of these have been very poor men, earning their livelihood from day to day. The result has been that their wives and children have had to be supported out of public contributions also largely raised from passive resisters. This has put a severe strain upon British Indians, but in my opinion they have risen to the occassion. The struggle still continues and one does not know when the end will come. This, however some of us a least have seen most clearly that passive resistance will and can succeed where brute force must fail. we also notice that in so far as the struggle has been prolonged. it has been due largely to our weakness and hence to a belief having been engendered in the mind of the Government that we would not be able to stand continue suffering.

Together with a friend, I have come here to see the Imperial authorities and to place before them the position, with a view to seeking redress. Passive resisters have recognised that they should have nothing to do with the Government, but the deputation has come at the instance of the weaker members of the community and it therefore represen their weakness rather than their strength. But in the course of my observation here, I have felt that if a general competition for an essay on the Ethics and Efficacy of Passive Resistance were invited, it would popularise the movement and make people think. A friend has raised the question of morality in connection with the proposed competition. He thinks that such an invitation would be inconsistent with the true spirit of passive resistance, and that it would amount to buying opinion. May I ask you to favour me with your opinion on the subject of morality? And if you consider that there is nothing wrong to inviting contributions. I would ask you also to give me the names of those whom I should specially approach to write upon the subject.

There is one thing more, with reference to which I would trepass upon your time. A copy of your letter addressed to a "Hindu" on the present unrest in India has been placed in my hands by a friend. On the face of it, it appears to represent your views. It is the intention of my friend, at his own expense,to have 20,000 copies printed and distributed and to have it translated also. We have however not been able to secure the original and we do not feel justified in printing it, unless we are sure of the accuracy of the copy and of the fact that, it is your letter. I venture to enclose herewith a copy of the copy and should esteem it a favour if you kindly let me know whether it is your letter, whether it is an accurate copy and whether you approve of it publication in the above manner you will add anything further to the letter please do so. I would also venture to make a suggestion. In the concluding paragraph you seem to dissuade the reader from a belief in reincarnation. I do not know whether (if it is not impettinent on my part to mention this) you have speciall studied the question. Reincarnation or transmigration is a cherished belief with millions in India, indeed in China also. With many one might almost say it is a matter of experience, no longer a matter of academic acceptance. It explains reasonably the many mysteries of life. With some of the passive resiters who have gone through the gaols of the Transvaal it and Gandhi patns, 1950. t has been their solace, My object in writing this is not to convince you of the truth of the doctrine but to ask you if you will please remove the word "reincarnation" from the other things you have disuaded your reader from. In the letter in question you have quoted largely from Krishna and gives reference to passages. I should thank you to give me the title of the book from which the quotations have been made"

I have wearied you with this letter. I am aware that those who honour you and endeavour to follow you have no right to trespass upon your time, but it is rather their duty to refrain from giving you trouble. so far as possible I have, however who am an utter stranger to you taken the liberty of addressing this communication in the interests of truth and in order to have your advice on problems, the solution of which you have made your life work.

With respects, I remain
Your obedient servant
M.K.Gandhi.

(ii)

M.K. Gandhi
Transvaal

Yasnaya Polyana
Oct.7, 1909

Just now I have received your very interesting letter which gives me great pleasure. May God help all our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal. This fight between gentleness and brutality between humility and love on one side, and conceit and violence on the other make itself eves more strongly felt here to us also-especially in the sharp conficts between religious obligations and the laws of the State-expressed by the conscientious objection to render military service. Such objections are taking place very frequently.

I have written A letter to a Hindu and am very pleased to have it translated (into English) The title of the book on Krishna will be communicated to you from Moscow. As regards "re-birth I, for my part, shall leave out nothing; for as it appears to me the belief in a re-birth will never be able to strike such deep roots in and restrain mankind as the belief in the immortality of the soul and the faith in divine truth and love; of course I would accommodate you. If you desire, to delete those passage in question. It will give me great pleasure to help your edition, publication and circulation of my writtings, translated into Indian dialects can only be a matter of pleasure to me.

The question regarding monetary payment of Royalty should not at all be allowed to appear in religious undertakings.

I give my fraternal greetings and am glad to have come into personal contact with you.

LEO TOLSTOY

(iii)

WESTMINISTER PALACE HOTEL
4, Victoria Street,
London W.C
10-11-1909

Dear Sir,

I beg to tender my thanks for your registered letter in connection with the letter addressed to a Hindu, and with the matters that I dealt with in my letter to you.

Having heard about your failing health, I refrained in order to save you the trouble from sending an acknowledgement knowing that a written expression of my thanks was a superfluous formality; but Mr.Aylmer Maude whom I have now been able to meet reassured me that you are keeping good health indeed and that unfailingly and regularly you attend to your correspondence every morning. It was a very gladsome news to me and it encourages me to write to you furthe about matters which are, I know, of the greatest importance according to your teaching.

I beg to send you herewith a copy of a book written by a friend-an Englishman-who is a present in South Africa in connection with my life in so far it has a bearing on the struggle wit which I am so connected and to which my life is dedicated. As I am very anxious to engage you active interest and sympathy. I thought that it would not be considered by you as out of the way fc me to send you the book..

In my opinion this struggle of the Indians in the Transvaal is the greatest of modern times, in as much as it has been idealised both as to the goal as also to the methods adopted to reach the goal. I am not aware of a struggle in which the participators are not to derive any personal advantage at the end of it and in which 50 percent of the persons affected have undergone great suffering and trial for the sake of a principle. It has not been possible for me to advertise the struggle as much as I should like. You command, possibly the widest public today. If you are satisfied as to the facts you will find set forth in Mr.Doke's book and if you consider that the conclusions. I have arrived at are justified by the facts, may I ask you to use your influcence. In any manner you think fit to popularise the movement? If it succeeds, it will be not only a triumph of religion. love and truth over irreligiion, hatred and falsehood but it is highly likely to serve as an example to the millions in Indian and to people in other parts of the world, who may be down-trodden and will certainly go a great way towards breaking up the party of violence atleast in India. If we hold out to the end, as I think we would. I entertain not the slightest doubt as to its ultimate succss and your encouragement in the way suggested by you can only strengthen us in our resolve.

The negotiations that are going on for a settlement of the question have practically fallen through and together with my colleagues. I return to South Africa this week and invite imprisonment. I may add that my son has happily joined me in the struggle and is now undergoing imprisionment with hard labour for six months. This is fourth imprisonment in the course of the struggle.

If you would be so good as to reply to this letter may I ask you to address your reply to me at Johannesburg S.A. Box 6522.

Hoping that this will find you in good health.

I ramain,
Your obedient servant
M.K.GANDHI.

(iv)

JOHANNESBURG
4th April, 1910

Dear Sir,

You may remember that I have written to you from London where I stopped temporarily. As your devoted followed. I send you herewith a brief booklet which I have written. I have translated my own writings from Gujarati (my own language). What is remarkable is that my original book was confiscated by the Government of India. Therefore I was in a hurry to publish this translation. I am afraid I am burdening you; but if your health permits and you have time to go through my booklet, then I need not express how greatly I shall value your criticism of it. I am sending also a few copies of your "A Letter to a Hindu" which you allowed me to publish. This letter will also be translated into an Indian dislect.

Yours respectfully,
M.K.GANDHI.

(v)

Dear Friend,

Just now I have received your letter and your book. Indian Home Rule.

I have read your book with great interest, because I think the question you have therein dealt with is important not only for Indians, but for the whole of mankind.

I cannot find your first letter, but by discovering your biography by Doke, I happen to know you through that Biography which gripped me and it gave me a chance to know and understand you better.

I am not very well at present. So I am unable to write to you on all the questions which are interconnected with your book and also with your activities in general, which I value very much. But I shall write to you as soon as I recover.

Your friend and brother

LEO TOLSTOY

(vi)

M.K. Gandhi
Attorney

21-24, Court Chambers
Johannesburg,
15th August, 1910.

TO COUNT LEO TOLSTOY.

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for your encouraging and cordial letter of the 8th May last. I very much value your general approval of my booklet, "Indian Home Rule" and if you have the time. I shall look forward to your detailed criticism of the work which you have been so good as to promise in your letter.

Mr.Kallenbach has written to you about Tolstoy Farm Mr.Kallenbach and I have been friends for many years. I may state that he has gone through most of the experiences that you have so graphically described in your work "My Confession". No writing has so deeply touched Mr.Kallenbach as yours; and, as a spur to further effort in living up to the ideals held before the world by you, he has taken the liberty after consultation with me, of naming his farm after you.

Of his generous action in giving the use of the farm for passive resisters, the numbers of "Indian Opinion," I am sending herewith will give you full information.

I should not have burdened you with these details but for the fact of your taking a personal interest in the passive resistance struggle that is going on in the Transvaal.

I remain,

Your Faithful Servant,

M.K.GANDHI

In connetion with Gandhi-Tolstoy correspondence, Tolstoy wrote to V.Cherkov the following letter which is self-explanatory.

(vii)

22nd April, 1910

"Today and last evening I read the book which was sent to me along with the letter. The book is by an Indian thinker and fighter against British autocracy, Gandhi who is fighting by means of passive resistance. He is very close to us. He has read my writtings. His book Indian Home Rule written in Indian language was banned by the British Government. He requests my opinion on his book. I want to write him in detail. Will you translate such a letter for me?"

LEO TOLSTOY

In reply to Gandhi's letter dated 15th August, 1910 to Tolstoy. V.Cherkov wrote to Gandhi the following letter.

"My friend Leo Tolstoy has requested me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to him of August 15 and to translate into English his letter to you of September 7th (new style 20th September) written originally in Russian.

All that you communicate about Mr.kallenbach has greatly interested Tolstoy who has also asked me to answer for him to Mr.Kallenbach's letter.

Tolstoy sends you and your co workers his heartiest greetings and warmest wishes for the success of your work, his appreciation of which you will gather from the enclosed translation of his letter to you. I must apologise for my mistakes in English in the translation; but, living in the country in Russia. I am unable to profit by the assistance of any Englishman for correcting my mistakes.

With Tolstoy's permission, his letter to you will be published in a small periodical printed by some friends of ours in London, A copy of the Magazine with the letter shall be forwarded to you as also some English publications of Tolstoy's writings issued by "The Free Age Press".

As it seems to me most desirable that more should be known in English about your movement. I am writing to a great friend of mine and of Tolstoy Mrs.Fyvie Mayo of Glasgow proposing that she should enter into communication with you. She possesses considerable literary talent and is well known in England has an author. It should be worth your while furnishing her with all your publications which might serve her as material for an article upon your movement which, if published in England would attract attention to your work and position. Mrs. Mavo will probably write to you herself.

With sincerest good wishes from myself. Kindly transmit to Mr.Kallenbach the enclosed letter".

V.CHERKOV.

(ix)

"KOTCHETY"

(Castle of the eldest daughter of Tolstoy)

7th September, 1911

To
M.K. GANDHI
Johannesburg,
Transvaal, South Africa.

I have received your Journal "Indian Opinion" and I am happy to know all that is written on non-resistance. I wish to communicate to you the thoughts which are aroused in me by the reading of those articles.

The more I live-and specially now that I am approaching death the more I feel inclined to express to others the feelings which so strongly move my being, and which according to my opinion are of great importance. That is, what one calls non-resistance, is in reality nothing else but the discipline of love undeformed by false interpretation. Love is the aspiration for communication and solidarity with other souls and that aspiration always liberates the source of noble activities. That love is the supreme and unique law of human life, which everyone feels in the depth of one's soul. We find it manifested most clearly in the soul of the infants. Man feels it so long as he is not blinded by the false doctrines of the world.

That law of love has been promulgated by all the philosophies-Indian, Chinese, Hebrew, Greek and Roman. I think that it had been most clearly expressed by Christ. But he has done more; anticipating the deformation to which that law is exposed, he indicated directly the danger of such deformation which is natural to people who live only for worthy interests. The danger consists precisely in permitting one's self to defend those interests by violence; that is to say, as he has expressed, returning blow by blowe and taking back by force things that have been taken from us and so forth. Christ knew also, just as all reasonable human beings must know that the employment of violence is incompatible with love, which is the fundamental law of life. He knew that once violence is admitted it doesn't matter in even a single case - the law of love is thereby tendered futile. That is to say that the law of love ceases to exist. The whole Christian civilisation, brilliant in so the exterior, has grown up on this misunderstanding and this fragrant and strange contradiction, sometimes conscious but mostly unconscious.

In reality as soon as resistance is admitted by the side of love, love no longer exists and cannot exist, as the law of existence : and if the law of love cannot exist, there remains no other law except that of violence, that is the right of the mighty. It was thus that the Christian Society has lived during these nineteen centuries. It is a fact that all the time people were following only violence in the organisation of society. But the difference between the ideals of Christian peoples and that of other nations lies only in this; that, in Christianity the law of love had been expressed so clearly and drfinitely as has never been expressed in any other religious doctrine; that the Christian world had solemenly accepted that law, although at the same time it had permitted the employment of violence and on that violence it had constructed their whole life. Consequently, the life of the Christian people is an absolute contradiction between their profession and the basis of their life; contradiction between love recognised as the law of life; Violence was recognised as inevitable in different departments of life; like Governments Tribunals, Army etc, which are recognised and praised, that contradiction developed with the inner development of the Christian world and has and its paroxysm in recent days.

At present the question poses itself evidently in the following manner: either it must be admitted that we do not recognise any discipline religious or moral and that we are guided in the organisation of life only by the law of force or that all the taxes that we exact by force, the judicial and police organisation and above all the army must be abolished.

This sparing in the religious examination of a secondary school of girls in Moscow, The Professor of Catechism as well as the Bishop had questioned the young girls on the ten commandments and above all on the six "Thou shall not kill" when the examiner received good reply, the Bishop generally paused for another question: Is killing prescribed by the sacred law always found in all cases? And the poor young girls perverted by their teachers must reply : No, not always; killing is permitted during war and for execution of criminals, However one of those unfortunate girls, (what I relate is not a fiction but a fact that has been transmitted to me by an eye-witness) having been asked the same question. "Is killing always a crime?" was moved deeply, blushed and replied with decision "Yes always. "To the sophisticated questions habitual to she Bishop the replied with firm conviction, killing is always forbidden in the Old Testament as well as by Christ who not only forbids killing but all wickedness against our neighbours. Inspite of all his oratotical talent and all his imposing grandeur. The Bishop was obliged to beat a retreat and the young girl came out victorious.

Yes, we can discuss in our journals the progress in aviation and such other discoveries, the complicated diplomatic relations the different clubs and alliances the so-called artistic creations etc. and pass in silence what was affirmed by the young girl. But silence is futile in such cases, because every one of this Christian world is feeling the same, more or less vaguely, like that girl, Socialism, Communism, Anarchism Sion Army the growing Criminalities, unemployment and absured luxuries of the rich augmented without limit and the awful misery of the poor, the terribly increasing number of suicides-all there are the signs of that inner contradiction which must be these and which cannot be resolved; and without doubt, can only be resolved by acceptance of the law of Love and by the rejection of all sorts of violence. Consequently our work in Transvaal which seems to far away from the centre of our world, is yet the most fundamental and the most important to us supplying the most weighty practical proof in which the world can now share and with which we must participate, not only the Christians but all the peoples of the world.

I think that it would give you pleasure to know that with us in Russia, a similar movement is also developing rapidly under the form of the refusal of military service augmenting year after year. However small may be the number of your participatiors in non-resistance and the number of those in Russia who refuse military service, both the one and the other may assert with audacity" that "God is with us" and that "God is more powerful than men".

Between the confession of Christianity, even under the perverted form in which it appears among us Christian peoples, and the simulatanous recognition of the necessity of armies and of the preparation for killing on an over-increasing scale there exists a contradiction so flagrant and crying that sooner or later, probably very soon, it must invariably manifest itself in utter nakedness: and it will lead us either to renounce the Christian religion, and to maintain the governmental power or to renounce the existence of the army and all the forms of violence which the state supports and which are more or less necessary to sustain its power. That contradiction is felt by all the government by your British Government as well as by our Russian Government: and therefore by the spirit of conservatism natural to these governments, the opposition is persecuted as we find in Russia as well as in the articles of your journal, more than any other anti-governmental activity. The governments know from which direction comes the principal danger and try to defend them-

selves with a great zeal in that trial, not merely to preserve their interests but actually to fight for their very existence.

With my perfect esteem
LEO TOLSTOY

Exercise

1. Trace the contribution of Tolstoy to Nonviolence
2. Compare Tolstoy and Gandhi
3. Discuss "Moral Resistance"
4. Trace the Indian Roots of Satyagraha.

Field Work and Application

1. Read the writings of Leo Tolstoy and try to feel the writer's mind and soul.
2. Give talks on Tolstoy.
3. Take the message of Tolstoy to six persos through personal contact and conversation.
4. Give your own witness to the statement that satyagraha has Indian roots .

Lesson-12

NONVIOLENT ACTIONS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Contribution of Western Trade Union Movement

Today nonviolent action is more freely and spontaneously used in the economic front than in any other sphere. And there too this Instrument is most powerfully used by the workers in settling the problems with the capitalists. Strike as a nonviolent weapon has well been developed in the Industrial sector. For its origin, we have to go back to the early history of the British Trade Union Movement.

The Industrial Revolution started first in England and then spread to west European countries and in turn it has become an universal phenomenon. And everyday it is not only spreading but growing and evolving. The main feature of industrial revolution is mass production with the help of machinery. Workers worked in large numbers under the same roof (factories). The capitalists employed them. They were drawn from various parts of the country and especially from the countryside. The agrarian workers were rather scattered and so unorganized. But the industrial workers since they work in groups, they are, to some extent inherently organised. To start with, the conditions of the British workers were very bad. They have to work for longer hours for less salary under unhygenic, unsafe and unhuman conditions. Workers died or injured due to accidents often. The machinery was crude and there was no sufficient protection against accidents. Victims were not given proper medical treatment or compansation. Hundreds worked under the same roof and due to lack of even minimum sanitation and hyzenic facilities various diseases spread frequently. Women and Children were employed and much less was paid to them. Workers suffered due to malnutrition and excessive work and no leave facilities were available. The workers were under the total control of the capitalists. If they were sent out they have to starve and die, since finding alternative employment was very difficult.

But in course of time, the workers slowly, realized that the real power was not entirely in the hands of the capitalists. They realised that if they can go on strike unitedly, the factory will come to a stop. The unity of the workers and non co-operation of the workers are the most important factors. The unity of the workers can be achieved with some efforts. As workers they constituted a class. They worked under the same roof and they shared the sufferings and difficulties in common. They belong to a system and the capitalist tyrany was the binding factor. This unconscious unity was hidden to start with. But once it is realized at least by a few, then it can spread to the others easily. This is so because the unity was a reality but hidden under neath. One has to unearth it that is all. This happened slowly in England. First the workers were afraid of the masters. They thought without the support of the capitalists, they cannot survive. If they were dismissed they have to starve. But if all the (or majority of the) workers as on strike the capitalist can not dismiss all of them. That is all the more true if the capitalist is having only one factory. In case if he has several factoriest, he may try to use the workers of his other factories in this, particular one. But if the workers of those factories can also stand united, this cannot happen. Thus unity of the workers seems to be primary of importance.

To organize the workers a leader is necessary. The need for an organization is obvious. The trade union movement is the consequence of such a need. Trade Unions evolved to deal with

specific problems being faced by workers in particular industries. One problem in the initial stage was the excess number of workers available, Strike proved in effective when large number of people were waiting outside to do the same work with less pay. New Machines were introduced involving reduction of workers. Among the workers there were two main divisions - industrial proletariat and skilled artisans.

The trade union movements to start with, appeared as if it is a continuation of a medieval craft solidarity and the contacts of convival drinking local trade clubs were formed to insure through savings against. sickness old age and death. The growth of industrialization forced unions to concern themselves with conditions of employment. The fact that "Unity is strength" was discovered. Attempts were made to provide mutual assistance in times of industrial strike.

The ideas behind American War of Independence and the French Revolution were sources of inspiration. These two affected the British Industries and caused depression and the trade unions were weakened. The failure of local unions increased the need for general and national union. Melbourne wrote in 1831.

"It is coming to be admitted by the workmen themselves. that the unions have generally failed... At present their language is an admission that their partial local unions have failed; that in such circumstances the masters are sure to get the better and have done so; that they must have a general and national union"

Attempts were made create available federation of cotton spinners covering England, Scotland and Ireland and they were not really successful and the Grand General Union became little more than loose federation of Lancashire societies, Feeling strengthened by the grand union the Monchester spinners in October 1830 initiated an agiration to recover the wage cuts of the preceeding years. The method used was the strike in detail; by which the union withdrew workers from only one or two mills at a time and supported the strikers by levies on those still at work. The employers of Ashton and Stalybridge responded with a general reduction of wages. A call for general strike was rejected by the frish and Scottish spinners at the Monchester conference and strikers were forced back to work. This marked the end of the Grand General Union and Lancashire spinners' societies did not recover from the defeat until the mid-thirties. This is only an example of an unsuccessful early attempt to organize a strike at a wider scale.

The ideas of Robert Owen inspired the Trade Union Movement. Owen put forth the idea of co-operation in the place of competition. After 1832, Owen was drawn deeply into the trade union movement. R.H.Twney wrote, "His reputation, his personality and his prodigious propagandist powers brought thousands to his feel". The membership of the various trade unions in England steadily increased. The expansion of unionism naturally brought a hostile reaction from employers. In July the Leeds Mercury warned that 'a great struggle between the master manufactures and the trade union in the different branches of the woollen trace is at hand".

The emergence of political parties, the expansion of frawchise and the parliamentary system on the one hand and Chartism, (it was the campaign for democratic rights which swept across most parts of Britain in the late 1830's) on the other hand, strengthened the trade union movement. Now it developed a two fold action-political action and Industrial action. These two actions were never mutually exclusive and often interconnected. There were dissensions among the workers regarding the political action. But Chartists and Owenities were able to provide a new focus and leadership in times of crisis.

The British economy was maturing towards the 1850's Various factors contributed to this. The colonial exploitation and relative political stability were the major reasons. The employers, due to prosperity, were in a position to be more liberal with the workers and the workers have now, become strong due to the unions and political power which they can wield. Strike in all its various forms emerged as the most powerful weapon for effecting changes. Several decades of experiments after many failures led to the maturation of the strike techniques.

Mahatma Gandhi sailed from Bombay for England on September 4, 1888. He was admitted into the Inner Temple on 6th November, 1889. He passed the London matriculation in June 1890 and he was called to Bar on June 10, 1891 and immediately left for India. During his stay in London for nearly three years, Gandhi not only qualified himself for the bar but had profound studies of religions, Vegetarianism and life styles. Gandhi never mentions about his exposture to the various trends in London at that time. Mraxism, Socialist ideas, trade unionism, democracy and liberty, Darwinism, revolutionary development in science and technology were the most important of them. Gandhi who was a keen oberver and listener would have received all these ideas deeply. The strike as a powerful nonviolent action technique was every day used in some place of other in London at that time. Gandhi should have read about it. He should have observed at least a few Strikes. Unfortunately we are not hearing about these things in his Autobiography. But on that score we cannot conclude that Gandhi had to knowledge about the techniques of strike as used by the English trade unionists.

Mahatma Gandhi's perfection of Satyagraha was influenced not only by Tolstoy and Thoreau but the continuous history of nonviolent struggles especially the techniques of strike as used in England and elsewhere and the Russian'. Chinese and Irish nonviolent experiments of the early years of 1900. It should be noted that strike as a weapon was put to extensive use in England between 1830 and 1990 predominately by the trade unions with measurable success. In the economic field. Nonviolent direct action has come to stay in various parts of the world much more than in any other sphere of activity. The success of the strikes demonstrated the following :

1. Nonviolent direct action (strike) is a special kind of effective action like violent action. Things may be achieved with this.

2. Organization, unity, resources, strategy and leadership are absolutely important.

3. Power is pluratistic in nature. The power is not entirely vesting with the employer. The employee is also the source of power. In fact he is the most important source of power. Without his action of silent co-operation the employer cannot wield power.

Dr.Gene Sharp says, "Until recently, in common with other writers about Gandhi, I accepted that his development of nonviolent action in South Africa was largely or completely an independent achievement inspired by the interaction of his beliefs and personality with the need of the Indian community for some practical means of struggle against the racist European regime.. Placing Gandhi within this order history of nonviolent action did not belittle Gandhi, nor-the Indian "experiments" as he called them; both he and the campaign contributed significantly to nonviolent action".

The British trade union movement has improved the instrument of strike over a period of several decades. Gandhi not only had a book knowledge but a direct first hand knowledge about strikes while he was in England. Marx realized in London that the real power is with the workers

and developed his theory of successful class struggles everywhere in the future. And Gandhi realized in London that the suppressed, but silent masses are the real source of power and they can effectively use non-violent action such as strike, boycott etc., to achieve ends.

Gandhi was influenced by several non-violent actions taking place in various parts of the world after 1890. Non-violent actions took place in Russia, Ireland, China, India and elsewhere. Gandhi followed them closely and this has led to his new vision of Satyagraha. It is interesting note that labour strikes played a key role in his early Satyagrahas.

Here few quotations from Gandhi on strikes are given to show Gandhi's wide knowledge and learning on the particular subject.

A child acts in all the five possible ways. It is often inactive due to various reasons as fear, ignorance, unconcern, etc., But this inaction the culture of silence is also akind of action which is the vital source for the maintenance of the existing order. The child uses verbal persuasion, legal and Institutional method by bringing the matter to the notice of others for actions - violent method and non-violent method. Fasting, non co-operation, boycott, strike, picketting, walk-out, etc., are the common method used by the children. Indian women in her relationship with husband uses all methods except the violenct method. she uses the nonviolent method in a most natural and creative way as the children are doing. It is unfortunate that we often do not recognize these the nonviolent methods and encourage them so that their application may be extended and systematized.

Mahatma Gandhi had the genius to observe the non-violent methods prevelent among the children and women drew inspiration. This is one of the major source of Gandhi's concept of Satyagraha. Then he himself was inclined towards Nonviolence. Dr.Ecik H.Erikson has studied this psychiatric factors in his celebrated "Gandhi's Truth". The external sources are Thoreau and Tolstoy. Gita and 'Sermon on the Mount' Socrates and Buddha and others. Then the long, but often unnoticed history of nonviolent action and the contemporary developments in nonviolent methods influenced him a great deal. Dr.Gene Sharp has especially stressed this last aspect.

STRIKES

1. Political strikes must be treated on their own merits and must never be mixed with or related to economic strikes. Political strikes have a definite place in non-violent action. They are never taken up haphazard. They must be open, never led by goondaism. They are calculated never to lead to violence. ..... Harijan, 11-8-1946 p.256

2. A Strike should be spontenous and not manipulated. If it is organized without any compulsion there would be chance for Goondaism and looting. Such a strike would be characterized by perfect co-operation amongst the strikers. It should be peaceful and there should be no show of force. The strikers should take up some work either singly or in co-operation with each other, in order to earn their bread. The nature of such work should have been thought out beforehand. It goes without saying that in a peaceful, effective and firm strike of this character, there will be no room for rowdyism or looting. I have known of such strikes. I have not presented a Utopian picture.

.. Harijan, 2-6-1946, p.158

3. Strikes are now in the air today throughout the world and on the slightest pretext labour goes in for strikes. My own experience of the last six months is that many strikes have done harm to labour rather than good. I have studied so far as I can the strikes in Bombay, a strike at Tata Iron Works and the celebrated strike of the railway labourers in the Punjab. There was a failure in all these strikes. Labour was not able to make good its points to the fullest extent. What was the reason? Labour was badly led. I want you to distinguish between two classes of leaders. You have leaders derived from yourselves and they are in their turn advised and led by those who are not themselves labourers. but who are in sympathy or expected to be in sympathy with labour.Unless there is perfect correspondence between these three, there is bound to be no failure. In all these four strikes that perfect correspondence was lacking. There is another substantial reason which I discovered. Labourers look to pecuniary support from their unions for their maintenance. No labour can prolong a strike indefinitely so long as labour depends on the resources of its unions and no strike can absolutely succeed which cannot be indefinitely prolonged. In all the strikes that I have ever conducted I have laid down indispensable rule that labourers must find their own support. And therein lies the secret of success and therein consists your education. You should be able to preceive that, if you are able to serve one master and command a particular wage, your labour must be worthy and fit to receive that wage anywhere else. Strikers therefore cannot expect to be idlers and succed. Your attempts must be just. And there should be no pressure exerted upon those whom you call "blacklegs' Any force of this kind exerted against your own fellow-labourers is bound to react upon yourselves. And I think your advisers will tell you that these three conditions being, fulfilled no strike need fail. But they at once demonstrate to you the necessity of thinking a hundred times before undertaking a strike. So much for your rights and the method of enforcing them, But as labourers became organized strikes must be few and far between and as your mental and collective development progresses'. You will find that the principle of arbitration replaces the principle of strikes and the time has now arrived when we should reach this state.

Speeches and Writtings of Mahatma Gandhi.

(Natesan) PP.1045-48 (4th Edn.1933)

4. The conditions of a successful strike are simple and when they are fulfilled, a strike need never fail :

(i) The cause of the strike must be just.

(ii) There should be practical unanimity among the strikers.

(iii) There should be no violence used against non-strikers.

(iv) Strikers should be able to maintain themselves during the strike period without failing back upon union funds and should therefore occupy themselves in some useful and productive temporary occupation.

(v) A strike is no redemy when there is enough other labour to replace strikers. In that case, in the event of unjust treatment or inadequate wages of the like, resignation is the remedy.

(vi) Successful strike to be taken place even when all the above conditions have not been fulfilled, but that merely proves that the employers were weak and had a guilty conscience. We often make terrible mistakes by copying bad examples. The safest thing is not to copy examples of which we have rarely complete knowledge but to follow the conditions which we know and recognize to be essential for success. ... Young India 16-2-1921, PP.52-53

Exercise :

1. Examine the contributions of British Trade Union Movements to Satyagraha.
2. Discuss the place of strikes in Satyagraha.

Field work/Application

1. Give your own witness of a strike.
2. Give your reflections of a strike in which you were a participant.
3. Encounter two persons who have participated in strikes.

Lesson-13

GANDHIAN SATYAGRAHA : CASE STUDIES

(i) SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA

Introduction : The great poet, H.W.Longfellow once remarked, "Great men while departing would leave behind their foot prints on the sands of time" Gandhiji was one of the great men and his foot prints on the sands of time were evident on many social and political encounters of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first and foremost encounter was connected with the removal of discrimination used on racial prejudies and Gandhi made his experiments with truth in South Africa in connection with this problem. Indeed this is a burning and continuing problem not only in South Africa, but also in some other places like Nambia and the United States of America. In the latter Martin Luther King used what he considered to be Gandhian Methodology in his Stuggle for social equality and justice for all. It is very remarkable that Gandhi was a creative leader and made a synthesis of the diverse and different stands of thought in some fields and in some others, he broke new ground. Future generations will particularly remember Gandhi for his original contribution i.e. use of non-violent methods and rejection of violence for the resolution of social and political conflicts. Gandhi will also be remembered for combining theory with practice, individual religious outlook with, life-affirmation, morality with public activity advocating non co-operation with evil along with adherence to non-violence without malice towards the opponents . Indeed, Gandhiji will be remembered, as long as the sun and the stars shed their light on the earth.

Historical Background of the South African Indian Problem

When Gandhi came to South Africa in 1893, the country consisted of four Colonies - Natal, the capel, the Transvaal and the Orange free State. These Colonies were ruled by the descendents of Europeans who had discovered South Africa, by sheer accident on their way to fabled India. They settled in it and developed it first as a convenient half-wap house to the East and latter as their home.

The white people who were dominent in the country in 1893 were the Dutch or Boers and the British-the Dutch in the Trans vaal and the Orange Free State and the British in Natal and the Cape. The Dutch had enjoyed almost undisputed rule in the country for about 200 years before before the British arrived on the scene and captured the Cape from them in 1806 and Natal in 1843. Most of the Dutch thereupon move inland and took possession of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The Aritish, however, were settled also in Dutch territories and the Dutch in British territories.

There was constant friction between these two peoples, both seeking ascendency in country till, finally, it came to a head in the Boer War (1899-1902) as result of which the whole of south Africa became a part of the British Empire. The British professed that they fought the war primarily to secure for British and Indian settlers in Dutch territories their legitimate rights.

At the time of Gandhiji's arrival in South Africa the four Colonies were Independant of one another and followed policies of their own. The British Government in London, at this time/ main-

tained its agents in these Colonies to Protect the interests of its subjects, and controlled the policies of their Governments to some extent. But latter, when in 1910 these Colonies came together from the Union Government of South Africa under the British flag and acquired full self-government, the imperial Government, followed a ploicy of non interference in regard to them as well as to the Government of South Africa as a whole on the ground that South Africa was now a Dominion and therefore a self-governing member of the British Common wealth, free to order its affairs according to its own wishes. The grievences of its Asiatic subjects became a matter for the Governor-General-in-Council of the Union of South Africa and the capacity of the British Government to influence South African policies in this regard became nil. But this was not so during most of the time that Gandhiji was in South Arfica.

In developing agriculture and exploring the mineral resources of the country, the whites of these Colonies needed labour. They did not find the Africans steady and dependable as labourers for they were content to live on what they obtained from their land and most of them were not eager to work for wages. The British Colonies therefore, arranged with the British rulers of India to have Indian labour exported to south Africa under an indenture or contract. The first batch of such labourers entered South Africa in 1850. When the period of contract was over these labourers could return to India or remain in south Africa and renew their contract for a further period of five years, or settle as free citizens on land allotted to them by the Government equivalent in value to the cost of their return passage.

These labourers wre generally from among the poorest in India, untrained in hygenic habits and backward in several respects. Very soon in their wake came indian traders to cater to their needs. This was the origin of the Indian population in south Africa.

It was expressly laid down by the Government of India, in 1869, before renewal of contract for further emigration of such labour that the labourers should enjoy equality of status after the period of indenture and that they should live under the ordinary law of the land and not be subject to legislative or administrative discirmination. This was agreed to by the Natal Government which had asked for such labourers and further confirmed in 1875 by the British Government in London. Besides, the British Queen had in her Proclamation of 1858 guaranteed the same rights to the natives of our Indian territories as to all our other subjects.

The Dutch, however were all alone averse to Indians remaining in South Africa. They desired Asiatic labour (including Chinese to be brought in for a stipulated period and repatriated immediately thereafter.) They wanted their Colonies to be exclutively white, with Africans confined to areas allotted to them.

This was also the desire of the local British, who like other European businessmen in South Africa, found Indians formidable rivals both in agriculture and in trade. The Indian cultivator introduced new fruits and vegetables and produced them cheaply and in abundance, thus bringing down the prices of the white farmer. The Indian trader lived cheaply spent little on equipment or staff and could easily undersell the British and the Dutch. The Whites therefore learned that they would be swapped by the Indians if the indians were allowed to enter the country freely and establish themselves on and or trade as they pleased.

Accordingly numerous restrictions came to be placed on Indians. The earliest of these was law 3 of 1885 in the Transvaal a Dutch Republic. It declared that Asitatics could not obtain the rights of Dutch citizenship. It required that for sanitary purposes. Indians should reside in Locations specially set apart for them that they should not own fixed property except in such Locations and that such of them as entered for purposes of trade should be registered or a fee and should obtain a licence.

This, however was a flagrant contradication of Article 14 of the London Convention of 1884 between Her Majesty and the Transvaal Dutch Republic which declared that all persons "other that Natives" would have full liberty to enter travel reside hold property and carry on business in any part of the Republic of the Transvaal and that they would not be subject to any taxes other than those imposed on Dutch citizens. The British high Commissioner in the Transvaal was there to look after the interests to British subjects residend in the Colony. But owing to pressure of agitation on the part of the whites of Transvaal whether Dutch or British who spoke of the threatened invasion of Asiatics into the Colony, he advised the Home Government not to oppose the law and the British Government in London there upon announced its decision not to raise any objections to this anti-indian legislation.

This reversal of policy towards the indians in South Africa by the Imperial Government, inspite of its earlier pronouncements that Indians would have equal rights with other British subjects, opened the flood-gates to discriminatory enactments against Indians not only in the Dutch. Transvaal but even in British Natal and this at a time when the Imperial Governments had full authority to protect its subjects in both Dutch and British territory.

All over South Africa there was racial discrimination practised against Indians in trains, buses, schools and hotels and they were not allowed to move from one colony to another without a pertmit in Natal a British Colony, where Indians were in the largest number a Bill was about to be passed in 1894 to disenfranchise Indians thus lowering their status and preventing them from exercising political rights. (The collected works of Mahatma Gandhi vol.29 pp-xxi to xxiii)

Grivances of Indians in South Africa :

The first and the foremost challenging situation in south Africa developed in 1893. When Gandhi travelled in a train in the first class compartment since he had paid the amount for and had first class ticket. When the train reached Maritzburg, the capital of Natal at about 9 p.m. one European passenger, who entered in the train objected to the so called Coolie, Gandhi, an Indian travelling in the same compartment with him. On his complaint a railway official asked Gandhi to go to the van compartment. But Gandhi refused to do so on the ground that he had a first class ticket. Then a police constable was brought and he pushed out Gandhi from the first class compartment. So, Gandhi was constrained to spend the whole night on the platform in the shivering cold, since his overcoat was in the luggage, which was with the railway official. It is significant that this was the first civil resistance that Gandhi performed and it was only the beginning of the historic and epic struggle that Gandhi launched in South Africa. Gandhi visited South Africa in 1893 as a barrister to appear before the court on behalf of his client. Mr.Abdullah, who was of Indian origin. His plan was to return to India after completing his work connected with the Civil suit. However on the eve of his return to India he came across a news item, in the *Natal*

Mercury giving details of a bill which was aimed at disenfranchising the Indians. Gandhi was greatly agitated and he started thinking seriously about the plight of his countrymen in South Africa. It is interesting to note that a farewell party organised in his honour, became a political committee to plan Indian opposition to the Bill So, Gandhi postponed his return to India at first for one month. Later on decided to stay for a longer period and led a campaign against the Bill. In the middle of 1893 he came to India to take his family to South Africa and he made use of his presence in India to give wide publicity to the cause of Indians in South Africa. On his return to South Africa in 1897 a European crowd at Durban attempted to launch him.

Historical Background for the Struggle

It is interesting to note that two classes of Indians settled in Natal i.e. free traders and their free servants and secondly indentured labourers. The first batch of indentured labourers, from India reached Natal on 16th November 1860 truly a fateful date in the history of South Africa. Had it not been for this event there would have been no Indians and therefore no Satyagraha in south Africa. Indeed the steamer with carried those labourers to Natal carried within them the seed of the great Satyagraha movement. No adequate provisions were made as to how these illiterate and helpless labourers who went to a distant and were to seek redress. If they had legitimate and just grievances. W.W.Hunter who deeply studied the labourer's conditions used a remarkable phrase in this connection. "state of semi-slavery" On another occasion, he described their conditions as bordering on slavery" The labourers went to Natal under indenture for a period of five years. After the expiry of that period, they were entitled to work as free labourers or trade in Natal and settle there. If they wished, But they were not admitted to have all the rights and they were required to obtain a pass, if they wanted to go from one place to another and if their marriages were to be recognised they were required to register with an official known as Protector of Indian immigrants. An annual Poll Tax of twenty five pounds or three hundred and seventy five rupees was imposed on every Indian who was freed from indenture. After a great and powerful agitations the tax was reduced to three pounds. In 1894 a bill based on the principle of excluding Indians from the franchise the first piece of legislation based on racial distinction was introduced in the legislative Assembly of Natal. A memorendum with ten thousand signature was submitted to Lord Ripon who was then secretary of state for the colonies and peaceful agitation was carried on against the Natal Government. Lord Ripon disallowed the bill and declared that the British Empire could not agree to the establishment of colour bar in legislation. This was indeed a great victory for the Indians. Later on by two other laws passed by the Natal Legislation, inspite of great resistance offered by Indians severe restrictions were imposed on Indian Traders and no one could trade without a licence. Another law was the Indian Immigration Act which closed the doors of Natal against crores of Indian except those who were able to pass the education test in a European language. In the same manner, in other colonies like the Transvaal and Cape Colony drastic laws, were passed based on racial descirmination. In 1880 as per the terms of Law 3 every Indian settling in the Transvaal for the purpose of carrying on trade was required to register at a cost of twenty five pound, otherwise subject to heavy penalities and no Indian could hold an inch of land of enjoy the rights of citizenship. When there was great opposition the Law was amended in 1886 and the registration fee was reduced; to three Pounds and Indian could own property in such locations, wards and streets as were specially set apart for their residence by the Transvaal Government.

Genesis or Birth of Satyagraha

A great passion for Truth was innate in Gandhi and it was his abiding love for truth from his boyhood that saved him from meat - eating and made him confess to his father when he had stolen something from his brother and saved him from wine and women in England during his higher studies. Since and early in life, Gandhi was opponent of every form of injustice, oppression and falsehood. In his own words, "One thing took deep root in me the conviction that morality is the basis of things and that truth is the substance of morality. Thus, truth became my sole objective "Later on after many years of search and research, Gandhi arrived at the conclusion "Truth is God" in place of the traditional maxim "God is Truth". His pledged word was the truth he followed and a vow for him had the value of a categorical imperative. Above all his iron will and determination sustained him unfinchingly to fulfill every vow and every pledged word, Gandhi not only preached ahimsa or non violence but also practised those moral principles, especially ahimsa in thought word and deeds. Many incidents happened which put to the acid test his allegiance to all those high and noble principles, and it is remarkable that he came out victorious, triumphant and with greater glory and with increased moral stature. All his personal experiences in south Africa, particularly at Maritzburg, Petersbuge Johannesburg, Pretoria and Durban prepared him slowly and steadily along the lines of Satyagraha fitted him to lead the mass movement in South Africa. The significant incident that happened at Pardeburg in 1893 is worth studying since it contained all the seeds and elements of his future Satyagraha movement. On one occasion, Gandhi had to travel in coach and he purchased a first class ticket and yet he had to sit outside of the coachman. He had not only a right to sit where he was sitting but had a right even to sit inside the coach. So, truth and justice and fair play were the factors in his favour. But the coach guard asked him to get down and sit at his feet. Gandhi respectfully refused and so the guard began to assault him. In such circumstances Gandhi could have struck a blow or two. But, he did not since his method of resistance was different. He did not even abuse him nor did he wish him ill. Upto the end, he struck on his seat and suffered at the hands of an erring brother without retaliation or ill-will. Then, the passengers intervened and the beatings stopped. Short Gandhi acted like a true Satyagraha.

Gandhi once remarked that it was in the family life that he learnt the practical lessons of Satyagraha infact, he confesses that perhaps his most direct teacher in Satyagrapha was his wife, Kasturba apart form the great saints and prophets like Lord Jesus, Lord Buddha and Lord Krishna and great men like Tolstoy and Thoreau. In the words of Gandhi , "I learnt the lesson of non-violence or Satyagraha from my wife. I tried to bend her to my will her, determined assistance to my will on one side and her quiet submission to the suffering from my stupidity involved on the other side, ultimately made me ashamed of myself and cured me of my stupidity in thinking that I was born to rule over her and in the end she became my teacher in non-violence. And what I did in south Africa was but an extension of the rule of Satyagraha she unwittingly practised in her own prison" In this way and in many other ways, Gandhi came to adopt a rebellious and semi-religious doctrine. Satyagraha towards the solution of the problems of day to-day life and thus gave to humanity a new weapon to fight out evil and injustice and at the same time a whole philosophy of life non-violent ways and methods not only a view of life but also a way of life.

The historic and momentous decision to resort to Satyagraha in South Africa came to Gandhi suddenly-shall we say as a Divine Cell in his AUTOBIOGRAPHY Gandhi says "As though

un known to me the vow of brahmacharya has been preparing me for Satyagraha. It was not a preconceived plan, it came on spontaneously, without my having willed it". In this connection it is worth recording that Gandhi took the vow of brahmacharya in Phoenix. To an important and leading question, as to how Gandhi began his satyagraha movement, asked by the Doke, Gandhi gave the following answer "Some years ago, when I began to take an active part in the public life of Natal, the adoption of this method occurred to me, as the best course, should petitions fail .... in Johanesburg when the Asiatic Registration Act was introduced the Indian Community was so deeply stirred and so knit together in a common determination to resist it that the moment seemed opportune ...... their action should not take a riotous form, but that of passive resistance. They had on vote in Parliament on hope of obtaining redress; on one would listen to there complain's. The Christian churches were also indifferent. So, I proposed this pathway of suffering after much discussion. It was adopted. This vivid and clear description of the origin of the south Africa Satyagraha is very important historically and as an epoch-making event, since it is the oldest and also the most authentic and it is recorded by the author of the movement, soon after it started. In his history speech on 11th September 1906 he declared, "I can boldly say with certainly that so long as there are even a handful of men true to their pledge, there can be only one end to the struggle and that is victory. In his immortal book SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA Gandhi writes. This was the genesis of the movement which came to be known as Satyagraha".

How and when the Beautiful Word Satyagraha ws coined and came into use: Satyagraha Versus Passive Resistance

It is surprising that Mr.Hosken, one of the magnates of Johansburg was free from colour and racial and prejudice and took great interest in the Indian question after the Satyagraha movement started. Mr.Hosken described passive resistance as a weapon of the weak or the voteless as he observed. The Transvaal Indians resorted to passive resistance, when all other means of securing redress proved to be of no avail. They did not enjoy the franchise and numerically they were only few. They were weak and had to arms. Therefore they took to passive resistance which is a weapon of the weak. These frank and free observations of Mr.Hosken took Gandhi by surprise in contradicting Hosken. Gandhi defined his passive resistance as soul force or moral force and as such, the phrase passive resistance and its use in meetings gave rise to terrible misunderstanding. The Suffragist Movement did not eschew the use of physical force and some suffragists fired at buildings and even assaulted men. On the otherhand, brute force or physical force had absolutely no place in the Indian movement under any circumstances, in passive resistance,there is a scope for the use of arms, when a suitable reason arrives. But in satyagraha, physical or brute force is strictly forbidden, even in the most favourable circumstances. In other words, passive resistances may be offered side with the use of arms. But satyagraha and brute force, being each a negation of the other, can never go together In passive resistance there is always present an idea of harssing the other party. But in Satyagraha there is not even the remotest idea of injuring the opponent; and satyagraha postulates the conquest of the adversary by good will, love and compassion and also by imposing suffering on one's own person. As the Indian struggle advanced, the phrase 'Passive Resistance' gave rise to lot of confusion and further the expression appeared not so suitable and appropriate to permit the great struggle to be known only by an

English Phrase or expression. So a small prize was announced in the Paper. *Indian Opinion* to be awarded to the reader who invented the best designation or coined the most suitable expression for the great struggle. A number of suggestions were received from the readers and done important suggestion is the word. "Sadhagraha", meaning" firmness in a good cause" while was receive from Maganlal Gandhi one of the competitors. Gandhi liked very much the above word. But it did not fully represent the whole idea or confess the complete meaning as Gandhi wished is to connote or signify. As such, Gandhi corrected the word from "Sadhagraha" to "Satyagraha" and thus coined a new novel and immortal word, "Satyagraha", pregnant with meaning and having great potentialities as a social and the political weapon. In opinion of Gandhi, Satya (Truth) implies love and agraha (firmness) engenders and therefore serves as a synonym for force. Therefore, Gandhi began to call the Indian Movement by the unique and dynamic name, satyagraha i.e., the force which is born as Truth and love or nonviolence and completely gave up the use of the phrase, passive resistance. This then was the genesis or the origin of the movement as well as the expression of the word "Satyagraha".

The Advent of Satyagraha and the first Satyagraha Prisoner:

On 11th September 1906, a big meeting was held and it was attended by delegate from various places in Transvaal. AbdulGani, Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association presided and the famous fourth resolution by which the Indians solemply determined not to submit to the ordinance when it became the obnoxious law, inspite of their great opposition was passed and it was also decided they must all suffer all the penalities attached to such non-submission. Gandhi fully explained the above resolution and Shath Haji Habib declared in the name of God that he would never submit to that law and advised all present to do likewise. The workers did not let grass grow under their fear. After the great meeting many further meetings were held in important places and pledges of resistance were taken in every place and the main topic of discussion in *Indian Opinion* was the Black Ordinance. A deputation waited on Mr.Duncan, the Colonial secretary and Sheth Haji Habib one of the members of the deputation declared. I cannot at all restrain myself, if any officer comes and proceeds to take my wife's finger prints I will kill him there and then die myself" When the Asiatic Department was in an irksome and awakward position, since the department could not get more than five hundred Indians willing to register, the officials decided to arrest some Indians and the first satyagrahi prisoner was Rama Sundara. Anxious Indian spectators filled the court room and Rama Sundara was sentenced to one month's simple imprisionment and was kept in a seperate cell in the European ward in Johanesburg jail. The government failed to reap any advantaged from Rama Sundara's arrest, since there were no voluntary registration and the spirit and tempo of resistance from the Indian Community rose rapidly. The Black Act applied to the Chinese as well as to the Indians. So the Chinese jointed in large numbers in the Satyagraha struggle and they worked through their own independent organisation. Thambi Naidoo was a Tamilian born in Mauritius and was a leading satyagrahi. He was also arrested and his name must ever remain as one of the front rank satyagrahi in the history of satyagraha in South Africa. On 10th January 1908, the last date for registration or to leave the Transvaal. Gandhi and others were asked to attend the court, Gandhi requested the magistrate to impose the heaviest penality on him. The Magistrate however did not accede to his request and sentenced him to two month's simple imprisonment; This was the first imprisonment suffered by Gandhi in the movement started

by him. Gradually the number of satyagrahi prisoners rose to over one hundred and fifty. Mr.Albert Cartwright, editor of the Transvaal Leader and supporter of the Indian Cause in his paper agreed to mediate and General Smuts welcomed his meditation. So, after two or three days. Mr.Cartwright came to see Gandhi in the jail and brought with him the terms of settlement drafted and approved by General Smuts. On 30th January 1908, Vernon, the Superintendent of Police in Johanesburg took Gandhi to Pretoria to meet General Smuts. According to the terms of the first settlement, the Government agreed to repeal the Black Act, if the Indians agreed to voluntary registration. Gandhi consulted his fellow prisoners and Thambi Naidoo and Lening, Quiann including Gandhi signed the draft. After the historic meeting with General Smuts, Gandhi asked the General, "where am I to go? And what about the other prisoners?" General Smuts laughed and said, "You are free this very moment, I am phoning to the prison officials to release the other prisoners tomorrow - morning".

Resumption of the struggle and a Bonafire of Certificate :

Instead of repealing the Black Act, General smuts took a fresh step forward and maintained the Black Act on the statute book and also introduced into the Legislature a measure validating the voluntary registration. In this way, there came into force two concurrent pieces of legislation with one and same object. Thus, as Gandhi expressed, there was clearly breach of faith on the part of General Smuts and Gandhi was simply astounded, when to read the bill and not know how he could face the Indian Community. A strongly worded ultimaturn was sent to the Government and it started clearly, "it is well known the Indians have registered voluntarily to the satisfaction of the Government and therefore the Asiatic Act must be repealed. The community has sent many communications to General Smuts and taken all possible legal steps to obtain redress but thus far to no purpose. At a time when the bill is passing through the legislature, it is upto to the leaders to appraise the government of the discontent and strong feelings prevalent in the community. We regret to state that if the Asiatic Act is not repealed in terms of the settlement and if the government's decision that effect is not communicated to the Indians before a specific date the certificates collected by the Indians would be burnt and they would humbly but firmly take the Indians quench. Since there was no reply from the government, on 16th August 1908, exactly at four O' clock on the grounds of the Hami ia Mosque in Johanesburg every inch of space available was taken up by indians of all classes. The committee already received more than 2000 certificates to be burnt. It is interesting to note that Mir.Alam too was present at the meeting. Mir Alam was an old client of Gandhi. He did not like Gandhi's decision to voluntarily register under the Asiatic Registration Act as agreed upon with General Smuts. Mir Alam severely beat up Gandhi but Gandhi put up with a smile on his face. Mir Alam was arrested but Gandhi did not file a complaint against him and saw to it that he was realised. He announced that he committed a great wrong by assaulting Gandhi and to the great joy of the audience, handed over his original certificate to be burnt. Gandhi took hold of Mir.Alam's hand pressed it with joy and assured him once more that he had never harboured in his mind any resentment against him. In so doing, Gandhi followed the noble Principle. "To err is human and to forgive is Divine" and also displayed the true spirit and inherent nature of a true satyagraha. All the certificates were thrown into the cauldron saturated with paraffin and set ablaze by Mr.Yusuf Mian. The whole assembly rose to their feet and made the place resound with the echoes of their thundereing and continuous cheers during the burning process. Some members who still withheld their certificates brought them to the platform

and those certificates were also consigned to the flames to the great joy of the audience. Johanesburg correspondent of the *Daily Mail* of London sent a vivid description of the meeting and compared the act of the Indians in burning their certificates with that of the Boston Tea party in 1908, not only the Black Act was passed, but also another bill called. The Transvaal Immigrents Restriction Bill, which was chiefly aimed at the Indians, was also passed. So, many Indians suggested a mobilisation of Indians all over South Africa and offering of Satyagraha against all anti-Indian legislations in Natal, the Cape Colony the Orange Free State, when the Transvaal struggle was taking place and was in full swing.

Any account of the satyagraha movement in South Africa would be incomplete and to that extent imperfact, if the great sacrifices made by the following personalities, were not detailed in these pages. It is very remarkable that in the movement. Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Christians worked harmoniously and came together as members of a well knit family and traders, educated men and other performed excellently the duties assigned to them, Sorabji, as the name itself suggests was a Parsi gentleman and there were more than one hundred Parsis in South Africa, Sorabji was a barrister and after being called to the bar in England, returned to Johanesberg to pratice law and also to serve the Indian Community. When Sorabji entered the Transvaal, the magistrate ordered him to leave the Transvaal within seven days, and on his refusal to do so, he was brought to the court on 20th July 1908 and sentenced to one months imprisonment with hard labour. Sheth Daud Mahomed was the President of the Natal Indian Congress and was also one of the oldest Indian cadre in South Africa. When Sheth Daud arrived on the frontiers of the Transvaal' with his stayagrahi army., they were all arrested and on 18th August 1908, they were all brought before the magistrate who ordered them to leave the Transvaal within seven days. They dis-obeyed the order and were re-arrested at Pretoria and deported without trial, They re-entered the Transvaal on 15th August 1908 and so they were sentenced to a fine of fifty pounds or three month's imprisonment into the jails. Joseph Royappan, another barrister of Cambridge University was born in Natal of parents who were indentured labourers. He left his law books and took up a basket of vegetables and was arrested as an unlicensed hawker and suffered imprisonment. It is very remarkable that many lads-sixteen years old went to jail and one lad by name Mohanlal Mauji Ghelani was only fourteen years old and thus proved that in the movement. youngesters also took and active part, courted arrest and went to jails cheerfully. The jail authorities left no stone unturned to harass the Indian prisoners' they were given scavenger's work and they did it with a smile on their faces. When they were asked to break stones, they broke stones with the name of Allah or Rama on their lips and willingly underwent all sorts of sufferings without any ill-will or malice to-wards the authorities, as true satyagrahais. In short, the obnoxious legislation provided for three kinds of punishment i.e. fine, imprisement and reportation. The courts were empowered simultanously to award all the punishments and all Megistrates were given jurisdiction to impose the maximum penalties. There were special prisons where dangerous prisoners or priosners whom the government wanted to bend, were kept and one such prison was the Diepklo of Convict Prison. There was a harsh jailer in charge of this prison house and the labour exacted from prison-ers was also very hard. The prisoners were prepared to work hard, but they would not put up with the insults hurled at them by the jailer and so they went on hunger strike for the first time in the history of Transvaal jails. They refused to take food until the jailer was removed or they themselves

were transferred to another prison. After a seven day fast, they succeeded in getting themselves transferred to another prison. As hunger-strikes were very rare in those days, these satyagrahis deserved speical praise and were entitled to special credit as pioneers in the hunger-strikes struggle. Gandhi was also arrested again and imprisoned in Volksrust jail. There were nearly seventy five Indian prisoners in that jail. They cooked their own food and Gandhi became the chief cook as he alone could adjudicate on the conflicting claims to the rations supplied. After some days, the Government thougth that if they separated Gandhi from other prisoners, it might perhaps chasten or reform Gandhi as well as others. So, Gandhi was taken to Pretoria Jail and was confined in a solitary cell reserved for dangerous prisoners, to perhaps to nullify his strong will power and determination.

Woman Volunteers in the Movement : The Satyagrahis were pursuing the even tenor of their lives on Tolstoy Farm, preparing themselves slowly and steadily for the Great March ahead. They did not know, when the struggle would end. But they clearly understood that they were only under one pledge - to refuse submission to the Black Act and to suffer willingly whatever hardships were invloved in such disobedience. Gopalakrishna Gokhale landed at Capeton on 22nd October 1912 and reached Johanesberg by a railway journey of two days and an address was presented to him on the station itself. After Johansberg, Gokhale visited Natal and then proceeded to Pretoria where he met the ministers including General Botha and General Smuts. At the end of his talks Gokale said to Gandhi, "you must return to India in a year since everything has been settled. The Black Act will be repealed and three pounds tax will be abolished. The racial bar will be removed from the Immigration Law" Gandhi had his own doubts and there was breach of pledge on the part of the ministers. Not only did the government abolish the tax within a year, but they declared in so many words that it could not be removed at all.

There was an important case in which Justice Searle of the Cepe Supreme Court gave his significant judgement on 14th March 1913 to effect that all marriages were outside the pale of legal marraiges in South Africa, with the exception of such ad were celebrated accoring to Christian rites and registered by the Registrar of Marriages. This terrible judgement thus nullified in South Africa a stroke of the pen all the marriages celebrated according to Hindu, Muslim and Zorastraian rites. In terms of the judgement, many married Indian women in South Africa caused to rank as the wives of their husbands and were degraded to the rank of concubines, while their children were deprived of their right to inherit their parents property. This was indeed a terrible blow to Indian women nor less than men and all the Indians in South Africa greately perturbed and deeply agitated. The committee members decided to invite women volunteers to come into line with the men and they first invited the sisters who lived on Tolstoy Farm. In the first batch, there were eleven members and these sisters were all Tamilians except one, six volunteers among them had yoiung babies in their arms. later on Gandhi went to Phoenix and held consultations with the sisters living in those places. Kasturba overheard the conversation and said, "What defect is there in me which disqualifies me for jail? I also wish to take the path to which you are inviting others". In the first list of sixteen volunteers there were four women volunteers including Kasturba Gandhi. Women volunteers entered into Natal but were not arrested for entering the country without perimits. So, they proceeded to New-castle and set about their work according to the plans previously settled. Their influence spread like wild fire and the labourers working in the mines went on strike.

The Transvaal sisters were arrested and were sentenced to three month's imprisionment and were kept in the same prision as the Phoenix party, Gandhi was not only Perlexed but also greatly puzzled by the marvellotus awakening among the labourers and women volunteers, since he had either men nor money to come with the work before him. In the next moment he visualized clearly his duties and decided to visit Newcastle and do what he would in the prevailing circumstances. All these stirring events stirred the hearts of the Indians not only in South Africa but also in their Motherland to very depth. The courage shown by the women prisoners was beyond words. They were all kept in Maritzburg jail where they were greatly harassed, since their food was not food and they were given laundry work as their task. One woman volunteer, Valliamma, returned from jail with a fatal fever, since she succummbed within a few days of her release. Valliamma was the daughter of R. Munuswami Mudaliar of Johanesburg and she was a young girl of sixteen years only. Let us record the interesting conversation that Gandhi had with her a few days before her death.

"Valliamma, you do not repent of your having gone to jail?" Gandhi asked

"Repent? I am even now ready to go to jail again, if I am arrested", said Valliamma.

"But what if it results in your death?" Gandhi pursued.

"I do not mind it. Who would not love to die for one's mother land?" was Vallaimma's reply

That was the great spirit and message of Valliamma the woman satyagrahi, as well as immortal satygrahi. Indeed, she left behind the heritage of an immoral satyagrahi.Many condolence meetings were held in many places and it was resolved to erect "Valliamma Hall" to commemorate the supreme sacrifice made by this great daughter of India. But, unfortunately, the resolution was not translated into action. In the words of Gandhiji" Whether or not a hall is in stone and mortar. Valliamma's service is imperishable. She built her temple of service with her own hands and her glorious image had a richer place even now reserved for it in many a heart and the name of Valliamma will live in the history of South African Satyagraha as long as India lives".

The Great March and All in Prison : The Caravan of Pilgrims consisted of 2037. men. 127 women and 57 children and at the appointed stoke of the hour i.e., at 6.30 a.m. on 6th November 1913 the members offered prayers and commenced their historic march in the name of God. A small patrol of mounted policemen was on duty at the broder gate. Gandhi went up to them.leaving instructions with the members to cross over when he signalled to them. While he was still talking to the police, the pilgrims made a sudden rush and crossed the border. The police surrounded them, but had no intention of arresting them. Gandhi pacified the pilrims and got them to arrange themselves in regular rows. Everthing was in order in a few minutes and the march into the Transvaal began. One European challenged to a duel Mr. Kallenbach who replied in the following immortal words in the meeting of European. "The Indians are not out to challenge your position as ruler. They do not wish to fight with you or to fill the country. They only seek injustice, pure and simple. They propose to enter the Transvaal not with a view to settle there, but only as an effictive demonstration aganist the unjust tax which is levied upon them. They are brave men. They will not injure you in person or in property. they will not fight with you, but enter the Transvaal, they will even in the face of your gun fire. They are not the men to beat a retreat from the fear of you bullets or

your speares. They propose to melt, and I know they will melt, your heart by false suffering". The audience was rather abashed and the gentlemen who invited Mr. Kallenbach to single cobat became his friend. On the first day. they stopped for the night at Paltform about eight miles from the Transvaal. Late in the night, Gandhi was arrested and was taken tothe nearest railway station. Before accompanying the police officer, Gandhi informed P.K. Naidoo about his arrest and told him that at day break the pilgrims must resume their march. Gandhi was produced before a megistrate in Volksrust and the case was postponed on Gandhi's request the magistrate released him on bail of fifty pounds. So Gandhi joined the caravan of pilgrims in their march, Gandhi was re-arrested at Standerton and by the time, he reached the court-rrom, he found that five of his co workers, including P.K. Naidoo were arrested and remainted in jail. Gandhi was again released on ball of fifty pounds, When the pilgrims reached. Teakworth, the principal immigration officer of the Transvaal and a police officer arrested Gandhi, and thus Gandhi was arrested thrice in four days; he was taken to Heidelberg and from here to Dundee where he was tried and sentenced to nine.months. imprisonment with hard labour. The pilgrims with Polak as their leader resumed their march and halted for the night at Creylingstad. When all the pilgrims reached Balfour on the tenth at about nine o'clock the special trains were drawn up at the station to take them and deport them to Natal. Later on, Gandhi was separated from his friends in jail and was lodged in a solitary cell in Bloemfontein jail Kallenbach was taken to Pretoria jail and Polak to Germiston jail.

The Provisional Settlement and the end of the struggle :

In December 1913, Lord Hardings, the victory of India made his famous speech in Madras which created a great Stir and commotion in South Africa as well as in England. Lord Hardings not only passed severe criticism on the Union Government, but he also whole heartedly defended the action of satyagrahis and supported their civil disobedience of unjust and invidious legislation. Like Newcastle in the mine area, Phoenix too became the centre of the Strikers on the north coast. As soon as the arrest of west was cabled to Gokhale, he initiated the policy of sending our able men from india and so Andrews and Person left India for South Africa by the first available streamer. The Union Government had not the power or keeping thousands of innocent men in jail for ever. The wrong prepetrated was well known to all and every one realised that it must be redressed. At last, it dawned on the philosopher statesman General Smuts, that there had been injustice which called for remedy. As usual a commission was appointed to submit a detailed report to the Union Government. On the recommandation of the commission. Kalenbach, Polak and Gandhi were released unconditionally and simultaneously on 18th December 1913, after an imprisonment of hardly six weeks. West was also released from jail, as the Government had no case against him. All these events took place before the arrival of Andrews and Pearson whom on Gandhi went to Pretoria with Andrews and just at that time, there was a great strike of the European employees of the Union Railways which made the position of the Government extremly delicate. Supporters of Gandhi suggested that there struggle or the Indian march to be commenced at such a fortunate juncture. But on moral grounds Gandhi declined to do so. In this connection, let us record the remarks of one of the Secretaries of General Smuts, "I do not like your people and do not care to assist them at all. But what am I to do? You help us in our days of need. How can we lay hands upon you? I often wish you took to violence like the English strikers and them. we would know at once how to dispose of you. But you will not injure even the enemy you desire victory by self

suffering alone and never transgress your self-imposed limits of courtesy and coivairy and that is what reduces us to sheer helplessness" What glorious and befitting tributes from the opponents and what better testimony is required from the enemies in praise of the true satyagrahis of South Africa?

Andrews and Gandhi had frequent interviews with General Smuts before were exchanged and at last a provisional agreement was reached and the satyagraha movement was suspended and the agreement was endorsed by the Indians. The boycott of the commission by the satyagraha volunteers did not produce and bad affect. On the other hand. its work was shortened and its report was published soon and the report of the commisssion was favourable to the Indians. as predicted by General Smuts. Within short time of the issue of the reoport. the Government published in the offical Gazette of the Union the Indian Relief Bill which contained nine sections. One part of it dealt with the question of Indian Marraiges and validated in South Africa the marriages which were held legal in India, except that if a man had more wives than one only one of them would at any time be recognised as his legal, wife in South Africa. The second part abolished the annual licence of three pounds, while the third part dealt with the domicile certificates issued by the Government to Indians in Natal, In short with the passing of the Indians Relief Bill and the correspondence between Gandhi and General Smuts finally ended the Satyagraha struggle which commenced in September 1906 and lasted for eight long years and the Indians in South Africa could live in peace and tranquility on 18th July, 1914. Gandhi salied for England, on his way back to India, with mixed feelings of pleasure and regret. Pleasure because he was returning home after many years and anxtously looked forward to serve his Mother and under Gopalakrishna Gokhale's guidance, and with regret because it was a sad moment to leave South Africa, after staying for twenty one years of his life and after having shared the joys and sorrows of his countrymen there.

Conclusion : Gandhi demonstrated with success, by his historic and epoch making non-violent movement in South Africa, that satyagraha is a priceless and matchless weapon and those who wield it are stranges to disappointment or defeat. The satyagraha movement in South Africa the first mass satygraha and the most important in historical perspective was launched by Gandhi to fight against racial discrimination as well as the unjust laws of the government. The movement attracted world wide publicity and attention. Since it was intiated and led throughout by Gandhi and since he practically evolved his unique and dynamic methods during his campaigns in South Africa. he thus made or created new history by revolutionizing methods of fighting for social justice and equity. The satyagraha movement in South Africa proved beyond doubt that the opponent's difficulty is never the Satyagrahi's opportunity and a true satyagrahi would go out of his way tom help the opponent in his difficulty When the labouriers in the North coast went on strike. the planters of Mount Edgecombe would have suffered heavy losses, if the sugercane that had been cut was not brought to the mills in time and crushed at the proper time. So, twelve hundred Indians returned to the mills and completed the above item or piece of work and afterwards resumed their strike. On another occasion, when the Indian employees of Durban Municipality struk work, all those hwo were engaged In sanitary services of the Borough and attendants on the patients be on outbreak of any epidemic in the city and the sick and the wounded in the hospital might not suffer for want of proper and timely help and services. Another important example of

such expressions of compassion, nobility and chivalry on the part of true satyagrahis was provided and amply demonstrated. when the European employees of the Union Railways went on strike. In short, the seeds of satyagraha sown in South Africa germinated so well and blossomed forth so beautifully and victoriously and spread their sweet fragrance in India and finally crossed the Indian frontiers and spread the external messages of truth and non-violence compassion and universal brotherhood that have engulfed the corridors of the world.

In his fateful message to South 'Africa, Gandhi called for equality for the Indians and added "we can gain everthing without hurting anybody and through soul-force of satygraha alone". Typically and appropriately General Smuts commented; "The Saint has departed from our shores. I trust he will never return". After the Satyagraha movement in South Africa, all the Indians had realised their full potentials as men and women, caapable of behaving as super for being and they had challenged while South Africa without-reviving the level of hatred in hate-ridden country, While in prison, Gandhi made a pair of saddals and presanted them to General Smuts and he wore them for the rest of his life, since Gandhi led made them well. Thought their political relationship was strained many times, General Smuts always felt compelled to respond to anycall from Gandhi. In developing Satyagraha in its various forms as a practical means of overcoming violence - especially in group life as well as among the nations Gandhi established a new mile-stone in the history of the human race in its onward march towards peace on the earth and goodwill among men. According to Gandhiji , violence does not overcome evil, thought it may suppress if for the time being. Later on, it will rise will with redoubled vigour, Non-violence on the other hand, puts an end to evil, since it converts the evil-doer by love and compassion. In short, the roots of satyagraha force are within everone of us and they are the awakened domant vital forces and unison with moral forces and in complete unity and loyalty to the innate urges for good actions, constructive social work and social service, can easily bring about many revolutionary changes in all spheres of life-especially in political, social and economic fieds.

Model Questions

1) How was the beautiful word, Satyagraha coined and brought into use and also when did these things occur?

2) Trace the genesis and origin of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa.

3) Describe vividly the Great March and how the satyagraha movement in South Africa ended.

4) Give a critical estimate of his Satyagraha Movement in South Africa.

Books for Further Reference

1) *Satyagraha in South Africa* by M.K. Gandhi

publishers : Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad

2) *Satyagraha* by M.K. Gandhi

Publishers : Navajivan House, Ahmedabad.

3) *Saga of Satyagraha* by R.R. Diwakar.

Publishers : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

4. *Satyagraha (Its Techniques & History)* Diwakar.

Publishers : Hind Kitas, Bombay

5) *Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power* by Gene Sharp,

Publishers : Navajivan publishing House Ahamedabad.

6) *Conquest of Violence* by Joan V. Bondurant

Publishers : Oxford University Press.

More Questions

1) Trace the role of women in south African Satyagraha.

2) Attempt a critical study of the Satyagraha in South Africa.

3) Trace the discovery of Satyagraha.

Field Work / Application

1. See the documentary film connected with Gandhi's Satyagraha is South Africa. Also See other films them. Attampt a Critical review.

2. Carefully read Gandhi's book "Satyagraha in South Africa" and also Portions dealing with this in his Autobiography and share your views on them with a few interested persons.

Lesson - 14

GANDHIAN SATYAGRAHA : CASE STUDIES

(II) SALT SATYAGRAHA

Indroduction

During the years 1930-1931, non-co-operation movement was employed throughout India to advance the cause of Indian Independence. The Salt Satyagraha was part and parcel of the year long Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 - 1931 and it was indeed a national movement which continued for about one year. The Salt Acts were deliberately chosen by Gandhi for consreation in a general Civil Disonedience Movement, since those laws were not only basically unjust in themselves. but also they syrmbolized unpopular alien and un respresentative Movement in India. Gandhi, symbolically singled out the salt laws for violation, sicnce he regarded these laws as iniquitions and unjust in as much as salt is the only tasteful and flavouring ingredient in a bowlful of rice preparation or any other grain which the poorest in India would afford. The immediate objective of Salt Satyagraha was to remove those laws which caused great hardship to the poor and down-trodden people of India and to break the government monopoly over a food necessity. Therefore, it became the sacred duty of every Satyagraha to disobey the unjust Salt laws and to cling to the truth-the inborn right of the Indian people to manufacture salt as they chose.

Origin of the Salt tax and its implications

In 1835, a Salt Commission was constituted and it recommended that the salt prepared in India should be taxed. Further, the Salt Act empowered the government to have complete control and monopoly over the manyfacture of salt. Any violation of this monopoly was punishable with confiscation of the salt and a six month's imprisonment. In addition the monopoly of the maunfacture of salt, its price was increased by comparatively large tax. In the words of Gandhiji, the Salt tax oppresses all alike. Hindu, Muslim, Parsee, Christian and Jew. It hits the poor man hardest whatever be his religious persuasion. Indeed Note even the dumb cattle are immune to this tax. The little baby and the aged all suffer alike from this tax, iniqutions tax... Who can be aganist the poor man's fight" in *Young India,* dated 27th February 1930, Gandhi observed, There is no article like, salt, outside water by taxing which the state can reach even the starving millions, the sick, the maimed and the utterly helpess. The tax constituted therefore the most human poll tax that the ingenuity of man can devise...salt production like cotton growing has been centralized for the sake of sustaining the inhuman monopoly, The necessary consequence of salt monopoly was the destruction and closing down of salt works in thousands of places, where the poor people manufactured their own salt... The illegality is in a government that steals the people's salt and makes them pay heavily for the stolen article, The People, when ther become conscious of their own rights and power, they will have every rights to take possession of what rightly belong to them". In picking up an issue, like the violation of Salt Laws, with which to begin the civil disobedience movement' which had whole - hearted and active support of the people, Gandhi had rightly picked an issue which put his opponents in a strange and delicate position. A considerable part of the officials both in India and in Britian had condmened the Salt Laws as outrageous and unjust. Before coming to power, Prime Minister Macdonald denounced the Salt Laws in his books and in

his public statements. So, Gandhi and other leaders quoted Macdonald in support of their opposition to the obonxious laws. In short, many officials found themselves in the embarrasing position of public self contradiction. Perhaps, all these factors helped to dull the edge of Govenment's retaliation in the initial stages.

Preliminary Action - Notice of Civil Disobedience - Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy. Lord Irwin

In response to Gandhi's request, the Working Committee of the Congress agreed that civil disobedeince compaign could be started and controlled by those who believed in non-violence as a matter of faith and principle and not as a temporary policy. The Working Committee also urged all Congressmen and others to extend their full co-operation in every possible way to remain perfectly non-violent, regardless of the provocation, when the campaign began all lawyers and students were urged to withdraw their co-operation and renounce the benefits and throw themselves into the final struggle for freedom. The plan of action was Gandhi must go to some spot on a specified date and pick up members of his ashram at Sabarmati; All others were to wait, until he was arrested and then there would be simultaneous reaction and preparation of salt all over India. A young Englishman by name Reginald Reynolds, who had joined the Sabarmati Ashram was selected to deliver the letter addressed to the Viceroy. On 2nd March 1930, Gandhi applised the Viceroy, of the Satyagraha plan and reviewed the grievances of the people. In that letter, Gandhi urged a negotiated settlement failing which he would lead a civil disobedience movement. He further stated the exact date on which he would proceed, with his co-workers, to disregard the provisions of the Salt Acts. "It is open tonm you". he told the Viceroy, 'to trustrate my design by arresting me. I hope that there will be tens of thousands ready, in a disciplined the Salt Acts, to lay themselves open to the penalties of the law that should never have disfigured the Statue Book "Gandhi, further made it very clear that he would welcome further discussion and his letter was in no way an ultimatum or a threat, but a simple and sacred duty necessary for a civil resister".

Organisation and Leadership, Constructive Programme and the Satyagraha Pledge

By its resolution on 21st March 1930, the Congress party delegated to Gandhi full powers and responsibility for organising and leading the campaign. It was a national movement conducted as part of an over all political movement for independence. At that time, Jawaharlal Nahru, was the president of the Congress and he was empowered extensively to act on behalf of the executive committee in case it could not meet. The president was also authorised to nominate a successor in the event of his arrest and its successor in turn was to have the same powers of appointing a successor. Similar powers were given to provicial and local Congress chiefs. Among them. were leaders like Rajagopalachari in Tamilnadu, Vallabhai patel in Gujarat, Jawaharlal Nehru in the United Provinces. Satish Chandra Das Gupta in Bengal, Karda Venkatappayya in Andra Pradesh and Gopabandhu Chowdhury in Utkal in Orissa in the beginning, direct participation was limited to the most disciplined members of Gandhi's ashram of Ahmadabad and they were described as great soldiers who had been selected to the strenuous descipline and hardships, since it was planned to have nearly two hundred mile march on foot, before reaching Dandi and Gandhi planned very carefully to lead a march with selected satyagrahis to the sea where the satyagrahis

would, in violation of the salt monopoly, prepare salt from sea water. Vallabhai patel was chosen in preparing the way and plan in advance for the civil disobdience and for the proposed march to Dandi. So, he proceeded along the route to be taken and advised the people on the aims and objectioves of the movement and also instructed them on the principles of satyagraha. Further, he urged them to undertake constructive work to abstain from intoxitants and to overcome untouch-ability. Unfortunately, on 7th March, Vallabhai Patel was arrested.

On 21st March 1930, the All India Congress Committee met in Allahabad and approved the civil disobedience campaign of Mahatma Gandhi and expressed the hope that the entire country would respond by making efforts towards the attainment of Purna Swaraj, Jawaharlal Nehru, as Congress president' after consultations with Gandhi, recommended a shortened pledge for satyagraha volunteers and the pledge is as follows.

(1) I desire to join the Civil Resistance Campaign for the Indepence of India undertaken by the National Congress.

(2) I accept the creed of the National Congress i.e. attainment of Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means.

(3) I am ready and willing to go to jail and undergo all other sufferings and penalties that may be inflicted on me in this campaign.

(4) In case I am sent to jail, I shall not seek any monetary help for any family from Congress funds.

(5) I shall implicitly obey the orders of those who are in charge of the campaign.

The Historic and Epic March to Dandi 6th April 1930 and Gandhi's Arrest

In *Young India* dated 3rd April 1930, Gandhi wrote an article giving the word or the signal for the mass Civil Disobedience Campaign that was to begin on Sunday, the 6th April 1930 and there was no accident the date of violating Salt Law by Gandhi and the beginning of the mass programme coincided with the beginning of the National week which paid glorious homage to the victims of the Amritsa massacre of 1919. By the fouth of April, people were already at Navasari either by foot or by heavy carts drawn by bullocks. At Navasari, Gandhi addressed the Parsees and appealed to them to give up drink and the liquor trade. After reaching Dandi on 5th April, Gandhi spent the day in meditation and having passages from the sacred books read to him by his followers. The conduct of the Volunteers was entirely peaceful and Gandhi planned to gether the salt at 6-30 a.m. on 6th April 1930 and he remarked with a broad smile. "That is to say, if I am allowed to do so". Early in the morning of 6th April, Gandhiji walked down the steps from his bungalow and he was greeted almost reptuously by about four thousand followers who gathered throughout the night and spent their time in silent prayers and also by singing national songs now and then. Punctually at 6-30 a.m. Gandhi reached the seashore, stopped down, scooped up a broad smile on his face. Shortly afterwards, nearly two volunteers armed with spades and buckers received orders from their leaders to carry on and proceeded in military formation to a neigh bouring creek where the salt deposits were thicker than on the beach and started preparing salt and the leader proudly informed Gandhi that the party has already gathered nearly 1000 lb of

salt. Thus, the salt act was broken and the signal was given to the nation to act and India soon became ablaze with non-violent revolt. In a press statement issued immediately after violating Salt Law, Gandhi urged that people everywhere should violate the Salt Law, tour miles from Dandi the police tried by force to snatch the salt from the civil resisters, instead of arresting them, Gandhi exported.the people all over the country by his immoral words, "Salt in the hands of Satyagrahis represents the honour of the nation. It cannot be yielded up except to force that will break the hand to pieces. Let the people defend the salt in their possession till they break in the attempts but they should do so without malice, without anger and without an angry word, let the police arrest the civil resisters and they can take possession of the salt, for they have possession of their persons".

Almost immediately, after the civil disobediecne movement was launched, the government began arresting and imprisoning prominent Congress leaders. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. Manilala Kotharl and K.F. Nariman were arrested and convicted. On 14th April 1930. Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested and sentenced to six month's simple imprisonment throughout India, there was spontaneous, universal and complete hartal and Nehru left his message for the people, "Keep smiling, fight on and get throught the job". One of the main features of the government's policy of repression was to pick out the chosen leaders of the country and then sentence them to wholly arbitrary terms of imprisonment. *In Young India,* in the article 'entitled'. When I am arrested". Gandhi wrote as follows, This time on my arrest, there is to be no mute,passive non-violence, but non-violence of the activist type should be set in motion, so that not a single believer in non-violence as an article of faith for the purpose of achieving India's goal should find himself free or alive at the end of the effort, to submit any longer to the existing slavery. It would be, therefore, the duty of everyone to take up such civil disobedience of civil resistance as may be advised and conducted by my successor, or as might be taken up by the Congress".

Within two weeks after 6th April 1930 the Salt Law Could have been said to be dead in Surat, in parts of Kheda and in Ahmedabad. In Surat district all the villagers manufactured and stored maunds of contraband salt. In Ahmedabad, a salt shop was illegally opened and sold, within two hours, to 1101 purchasers. The social boycott of Government servants - particularly in Kheda villages, caused considerable difficulty to the officials. In Bombay, Bihar and Bengal, the movement soon grew rapidly and entered the advanced stage of mass civil disobedience. In the Champaran district alone salt was manufactured at 50 centres and in many priate houses. From Bihar Babu Rajendra Prasad wrote on 19th April 1930 that volunteers marched batch after batch to a particular place to make salt. The examplary non-violence and herosim of the volunteers against police atrocities and repression were remarkable.

There was a Woman's Conference at Dandi on April 13th at which Gandhi urged them all to join the movement and work in boycott of foreign cloth and picketing of liquor stores and drung dens. In connection with the national importance of this work he wrote as follows. 'Prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs means the saving of sixty crores. Both these achievements would momentarily be superior to the repeal of the salt tax it is impossible to evaluate the moral results of these two refoms". Writting in *Young India*, Gandhi analysed the foundations of the British Empire and gave the following advice as well as his warning to his followers ; 'The indian Empire was concerned in immorality, for it was to perpetuate the exploitation of india's resources..... The rule in nurtured by Immoral means and it is supported by revenue derived from immoral sources.....

There is therefore no way opent ot the people, save to end a system whose very foundations are immoral. Let us therefour pray and work for the destruction of this demonstrably immoral system and for ending it to take the boldest cersistently with the national creed or policy of non-violence, In Bombay about three hundred policemen raided the Congress House and surrounded it on all sides and destroyed the Salt Pans, but failed in thier search for contraband salt in the office and arrested Abid Ali, Meder Ali and Siddiqui the prominent Congrss leaders. The volunteers sang national songs and rent the sky with their cries of *vande mataram.* Throughout this demonstration, not less than sixty thousand people observed an examplary self restraint and never betrayed the slightest sign of will-or anger against the police and it was indeed a most solemn and inspiring spectacle.

It was at 12.45 a.m. in the night of May 4th - 5th, thirty Indian Policemen armed with rifles and pistols and the British district Magistrate of Surat arrested Gandhi and placed him under restraint under regulation 35 of 1827 and was Imprisoned in the Yerada Central Jail in Bombay. In this connection, Mirapehn, one Gandhi's coslest disiples wrote *Young india* as follows; "At dead of night" like thieves they came to take him away because when they sought to lay hold of him, they feared the multitudes, since they took him to be a prophet.. All telephonic and telegraphic communications were cut off and no police guarded the roads, swift, silent secrecy; No trial and no justice. The government is making its own statements and the so called accused lies buried in the silence of the prison cell. They may take his pure voice with the heavy prison walls. But they cannot stifle the Great Soul. Its radiance will penetrate all earthly barriers. The more they strive to smother it the brighter and brighter will it shine, filling not onyl India, but the whole world". In the same vein poetess Sarojini Devi issued a statement to the press. "All powerful and repressive government could have paid no more spendid tribute to the far reaching power of Gandhi than by the manner of his arrest and incarceration without trial, under the most arbitiary law in their Statue Book. The man and his message are idential and his message is the living heritage of the nation to day and will continue to influence the thought and action of the work, unfettered and unchallanged, by the mandate of the most autocratic government of the earth. The next day Gandhi was secretaly removed from Yadava prison to the famous Shivaji's fortress, twenty five miles from Bombay in the pusander hills. When the news of Gandhi's arrest reached the people. there were spontaneous demonstrations of sympathy and good will throughout the copuntry. The people were amazingly non-violent and hartals were obsedfrved in many cities and towns. In Bombay, a huge procession was taken and people everywhere shouted. "Gandhi Jai. The Salt Tax is broken- long live Swaraj" and in the evining a big public meeting was addressed by many leaders. In Panama Indian businessmen closed their business for twenty four hours. In Germany. the txtile exporters were advised by their Indian agents to suspend all exports to India, because of the boycott movement. Gandhi's message on his arrest was as follows : "Let every village fetch or manufacture contraband salt. Sister should picket liquor shops, opium dents foreign cloth dealer's shops.. Let students leave Government schools and colleges and Government servants resign their jobs and devote themselves to the service of the people and we shall find that Purna Swaraj will come knocking at our doors".

Epoch - Making Raids on the Salt Depots at Dharasana

It was announced that Abbas Tyabji, a retired High Court judge of the princely State of Baroda would lead the Satyagrahis in their raids on the salt depots at Dharasana, in place of Gandhiji. The district oftence and warned Tyobji that the raid would be prevented by force, if necessary. With the ringing of the prayer bell on the morning of 12th May. Abbas Tyabji Saheb poured forth his heart in a moving prayuer and Kasturba Gandhi put kumkum on the old Abbas forehead and garlanded him and punctually at 6 a.m. the march commenced with 300 volunteers. The party had marched for a furlong and the district magistrate declared them to be an unlawful assembly and ordered them to disperse. On thier refusal Abbas Tyabji and the first batch of 59 voulteers were arrested and after their trial, they were sentenced to various terms of simple imprisonment,. After hearing Abbas' arrest, Sarojini Devi who was in Allahabad to attend the Working Committee meeting promptly hurried to Dharsana to take over the command of the volunteers, as promised by her to Gandhi. In her thrilling and poetic voice she decared. "I go to victory of death. My friends are trying to dissuade me, saying that I am a sick woman nearly fifty years old, but 'I' feel as John of Arch must have felt under divine inspiration... I am a woman but I shall actively participate in this campaign for liberty, as thought I were a man, I realize the tremendous responsibility entrusted to me by the Mahatma and nation, but in making the most of this heaven-sent opportunity neither jail nor death shall hold any terror for me". The march of Sarojini Devi and her fifty volunteers began at day break on 15th May and after a half-hour's march. the demonstrators were stopped by the police. Superintendent who informed Mrs. Naidu that she could advance no further. Thereupon, the volunteers and the police force sat down in the utmost good humour and looked at each other and thus practised 'Sit down Strike". After twenty eight hours during which the volunteers and Mrs. Naidu spent the night squatting opposite the cardon of police, the police threatened to remove her forcibly and she was driven back to the encampment nearby form where she started the day before and the voluteers were removed forcibly. The campaign contunued on the faurto day alternately surrounding and surrounded by the police. The volunteers squatted on their haunches in silence near the wire-enclosed salt pans, and waited for their opportunity to dash swiftly and unexpectedly upon the salt pans, as other main groups distracted the attention of the police. More than two hundred and fifty 'prisoners of war were captured by the police and they were assembled in a temporary jail and detention camp on the ourskrits. On 21st May 1930, early in the morning, Mrs. Naidu with, 2500 volunters, marched onwards on the epoch marking mass attack on the Dharasana salt works. Manila Gandhi, second son of Gandhi, was also in the forefront of the movement and as they marched, they chanted the revolutionary slogon. "Inquilab Zindabad". Suddenly, Indian police rushed upon advancing marchers and rained blows on their heads with their steel shod lathis. It was indeed a pathetic and agonising scene may hell on earth-when the volunteers so suddenly and brutally struck down fell sprwaling unconscious and some volunteers writhing with pain with fractured skull of broken shoulders and with great patches of blood widened on their white clothes. When every one of the first column was knocked down, stretcher bearers rushed up and carried off the injured to a thatched hut which served as a temporary hospital. Then another column was formed to march forward while their leaders pleaded with them to retain their self-control. With the arrest of Sarojini Naidu, the leadership of the volunteers descended on V.G. patel. who remarked "All hopes of reconcilling

India with the British Empire are lost for ever. I cannot understand how any government that calls itself civilized could deal as savagely and brutally with non-violent and unresisting mere, as the British did aganist the civil resisters". On 23rd May, Sarojini was sentenced to nine months simple imprisonment and in her statement to the court, she observed "The Government, however, unintentionally, has done a wonderful piece of progaganda on behalf of our cause, By arresting and prosecuting me, they have helped to focus international opinion and sympathy in our favour in a larger and swifter measure than might have been possible otherwise in such a short time".

On 24th may, a non-violent army of determined volunteers clad in pure and white khadder under the leadership of Imamsaheb Adbul Khader aged 62 years, an old comrade of Mahatma Gandhi and a devoted Muslim filled with religious enthsiasm and accompanied by his colleagues, Pyarelal Narahari Parikh and Manilal Gandhi marched on towards the salt deposts. On their refusal to halt, the police charged them with lathis and volunteer after volunteer was falling down on the ground, after bravely withstanding the lathi blows. The officials also took part in the lathi charge and within half anhour more than three hundred voluteers received injuries and the whole field presented a horrible and ghastly sight, with hundreds of preson wounded and lying on the fields. In a very short time, the vast area outside and lying on the appearence of a war hospital. The leaders were arrested and after words Imamsaheb received six months simple imprisonment. On 26th May, 1920 Mainbehn Patel was in charge of the camb and the non-violent raids on the salt depots continued upto 6th June 1930. In short the salt satyagraha, a sort of non-violent war is unprecedented not only in the history of India but also in worldhistory. Such be labouring. brutal and inhuman lathi charges and blows on one side and a such a silent and noble self suffering on the other side and what a contrast it presented. Further, ulterly inhuman and devilish like treatment on one side and perfectly human may divine and angel like behaviour on the other side and what a difference it presented.

A Brief Survey of the Salt Satyagrahas in Other Parts of India :

When the brave volunteers marched on in their historic and epic raids aganist the salt depots at Dharasna, civil disobedience volunteers in the rest of India were not sitting idly by and simply watching them as passive spectators or reading those vivid and graphic accounts of lathi charges and blows on those heroic volunteers and treating them as daily routine events of the British repression. The civil disobedience Committee of Maharashtra appointed a sub-committeee with powers to carry on satyagraha with regard of the Forest Laws and a great bonfire of foreign cloth was made at Alibag on 13th May 1960, In Surat, over 25,000 palm trees from which toddy is prepared, were cut down. Many villages in the Surat districty passed resolutions and established village law courts. In Panchamahals many villagers pledged themselves to abstain from liquor and to boycott foreign cloth. In Madras the police pratically imprisoned volunteers inside their Vedaranyam camp by forming a cardon around it. In Karnataka. it was reported that about ten thousand Sindi trees were cut down in the southern taluqs. In the province of Sindi, captain Dudari resigned his military position in protest against the police brutality and repression and joinded the Larkhana Satyagraha camp. In Bharuch, more village officers resigned their jobs *Srimathi* Satyavatni', leader of the woman volunteers in Delhi was arrested for sedition. The Sankiatta salt stores in Karnataka, under Government guard were raided by a mass of nearly 15,000 people and thoudands of maunds of salt were taken away. In Maharashtra. Shiroda salt depot was raided and

of all works at Wadala, near Bombay and the great demonstrative raid took place in the morning of first 1930, where 15,000 volunteers and non-volunteers participated in the great mass action. It is very remarkable that throughout the brutal attacks of the salt raiders the volunteers refrained from striking back or even from deflecting blows. Where they could, they pleaded with the police to join them and there were many incidents of policemen refusing to continue the assault. Our account of inhuman attacks and horrors on the volunteers will be incomplete without reference to an incident recorded by an American journalist. Mr. Negly Farson, a Sikh volunteer, blood - soaked from the assault of a police sergeant, fell down under a heavyblow. Then, Congress first and volunteers rushed up to rub his face with ice. Within a few seconds, the sikh volunteer gave them a bloody grin and stood up to receive some more. The police sergeant was annoyed greatly, since his victim stained his while tunic. He drew back his arm for a final swing and then he dropped his hands down by his side, "It is no use", he said turning towards the American reporter with half can an apologetic grin. "You cannot hit a begger. when he stands up to you like that. He gave the Sikh volunter a mock salute; and walked off".

Negotiations and Gandhi - Irwin Pact

On May 19th, 20th George Slocombe, correspondent for the *Daily Herald*, London, had special interviews with Gandhi in prison and there was speculation on negotiations to end the civil disobedience movement. In his conversations with Gandhi Mr. Slocombe gathered the impression that even at that critical moment. a settlement was possible and that Gandhi was prepared to recommend to the National Congress, the suspension of the civil disobedience movement and non-co-operation in the Round Table Conference to be held in London on 20th October. Lord Irwin issued a statement on 25th January declaring then Congress Working Committee to be in legal and Gandhi and other Congress leaders were released unconditionally to facilitate discussions, Gandhi and Lord Irwin met again on 27th Febrauary and the discussions continued, Finally, Gandhi Irwin Pact was signed on 5th March 1931 and Lord Irwin's biographer called in the Delhi Pact. Some important provisions of the pact were as follows : The immdiate objective of Salf Satyagraha was to a large extent realized. The salt laws were not repealed but a new official interpretation was effected in the settlment. The new interpreation specified that for the sake of giving relief to the poor classes the government agreed to extend their administrative provisions, on lines already prevalling in certain places, permission was given to local residents in Villages, immediately adjoining areas where salt can be collected to make slat for domestic purposes or consumption and for sale within such villages only but not outside such villages. Amnesty was given to the persons convicted of non-violent offences in connection the civil disobedience movement, withdrawal of the restraning ordinances was also granted. Restoration of coniscated, forfeited or attached property was liberally allowed. Finally administrative concessions to make salt in certain areas. In return the following activities to be discontinued. (1) Organised defiance of the provisions of any law (2) Movement for non-payment of land revenue and other legal dues. (3) Publication of news - sheets in support of civil disobedience and finally. (4) Attempts to influence civil and military servants or village officials aganist the government or to persuade them to resign their posts,

A Critical Estimate of the Salt Satyagraha movement :

Jawaharlal Nehru observed as follows : "It seemed as though a spring had been suddenly released, everywhere, people began to make salt. They collected pots and pans and ulimaterly

succeeded in producing some unwholesome stuff, which they waved about in triumph and often auctioned at fancy prices. The main thing was to commit a breach of the obnoxious salt law... As we saw the abounding enthusiasm of the people and the way salt making was spreading like wild fire we felt a little abashed and ashamed for having questianerd the efficancy of this method, when it was just proposed by Gandhiji. And we marvelled at the amazing knack of the man to impress the multitude and make it to act in an organised way "Indeed" ! The pening campaign and the historic and epic march to Dandi led by Gandhi provided a great lesson and model of adherance to basic principles of truth and non-violence and briliance of strategy and master planning. Above all, an outstanding feature of the other campaigns was the assertion a strong of and effective leadership by hundreds of provincial and local Congress leaders. The volunteers who initiated the Salt Satyagraha vigorously abided by the principles of non-violence and suffering. There is no evidence that any physical injury was inflicted by the Satyagrahis on their opponents and they retaliated not with violence but with gentle and persuasive tactics at their commandand without any malice, It will not create anger towards the opponents. In short, self suffering and self-reliance characterized the conduct of the volunteers, who signed voluntarily the satyagraha pledge without expectations of material help for themseleves or for their families, indicating clearly their selfless nature and great sense of patriotism and love of their motherland and liberation of this country from foreign rule.

In many places, men. women and boys of all ages and elderly persons without any distinction of rank and position threw to the win their lurking nations of respect for the Government and rushed through the police cordons in many areas and snatched away the salt. Among the internation all repercussions during the salt satyagraha movement, special mention must be made of the New York city sympathisers march to make Salt in New York harbour. In the Fedear' district of Mexico, the workers' Unions of the district voted their moral and financial support to the civil disobedience movement. In the Near East, the Arabs threatened the use of civil disobedience aganist the European rulers. In Dar-as-Salaam, and in Tanganyikat more than two thousand Indians paraded in the streets of the night, of 22nd May to protest aginst the arrest of poetess Sarojini Naidu and other leaders. In Nairobi, Kenya, the Indian community observed Hartals. From America Ramsay Mac Donald received a cable message from one hundred and two influential clergymen urging him to seek a friendly settlement and the signatures were collected by Fr. John Haynes Holmes of New York city.

In their epoch making raids at Dharsana, the volunteers, did not succeed in bringing the salt from the salt heaps. The satyagraha who received brutal and inhuman later blows, suffered quite joyfully. Gujara wasn regarded as a province of non-militaristic commercial people. However, Gujarat proved that her brave and heroic sons can endure untold difficulties and miseries and yet stick to their noble resolves. Herein lies their success and they succeeded in unmasking to the whole world the real nature of the Government behind all its mshes of lwand systems. They compelled the Government to use brute and inability to rule India by civilised methods. Inshort, the epic battles at Dharasana must have taught many lesson to the British rulers and to that extent, those non-violent battles were more glorious and successful than the violent battles waged in different battlefields of the World.

Some critics of Satyagraha may hastily conclude that all the efforts and sacrifices made by the volunteers were in vain, since no salt was seized and to that extent the raids were signs of defeat. Such conclusions betray a profound lack of understanding of the principles of Satyagraha. The aim of objective was not merely to size salt rather the aim was to bring clear light to the inherent violence on which the British Empire rested and to bring moral pressure for a change in the hearts of the opponents through the power of self suffering voluntarily undergone. In his letter to Lord Irwin, giving his reasons for planning the action at Dharsana Gandhi observed as follows. : "My important aim was to make the British to disclose to the full the leonine paws of authority ... Success is the certain result of suffering of the extremist character, voluntarily undergone. Let us conclude in the words of J.C. Kumarappa, 'Dharasana raid was decided upon not to get salt, which only the means. Our expectation was that the Government would open fire on unarmed crowds. Our primary object was to show to the world at large the fangs and claws of the Government in all its ugliness and ferocity. In this, we have succeeded beyond measure".

Model Question

(1) Describe clearly the historic and epic March to Dandi by Mahatma Gandhi and evaluate the results of Salt - Satyagraha.

(2) Give a critical estimate of the Salt Satyagrha Movement and estimate how it helped in securing of Poorna Swaraj.

(3) Do you agree with the view that the Salt raid's at Dharasana were great failures? Give your reasons.

Books for Further Reference

1) *Saga of Satyagraha* by Diwakar, Bharatiya Vidyua Bhavan, Bombay

2) *Satyagraha :* by M.K. Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House Ahmedabad.

3) *Conquest of Violence* by Joan V. Bondurant, Oxford University Press, Madras

4) *Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power* by Gene sharp, Navajivan Publish in House Ahmedabad.

5) *Satyagraha Its Teachnique & History* by R.R. Diwakar Hind Kitabs, Bombay.

6) *Contemporary Indian Philosophy* by DR. P. Nagaraja Rao Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

7) *The Great Challange* by Louis Fischer, Rajkamal Publishers Delhi.

8) *Years of Destiny India* 1926-1932 by John Coatman, Joanathan Cape, London.

9) *The Power of Non-Violence* by Richard B. Gregg.

Field Work and Application

1. Read books relating to Salt Satyagraha and writing by Gandhi on Salt Satyagraha

2. Carefully see the portions relating to Salt Satyagraha in the documentary and other films on Gandhi.

3. Encounter if possible, participant of salt Satyagraha.

4. Work in the foot steps of Salt Satyagraha.

LESSON - 15

GANDHIAN SATYAGRAHA : CASE STUDIES

Gandhiji's Fasts

Introduction :

Gandhi was born in a Vaishnava family and as a young boy, he observed family fasts and in doing do Gandhi merely copied his mother and sought to please his parents. Further, Gandhi used to observe not only Vaishnava but also Shaivite vows and also visited Vaishnava and Shaiva temples in India, While Gandhi was staying at Tolstoy Farm in South Africa, Mr. Kallenbach and some satyagrahi families, including Christian, Muslim, Parsee families were staying with him and he used to observe some fasts as a means of self-restarant. When Gandhi was in Johannesburg, he received the bad news of the moral fall of two of the inmates of the Ashram, The same day, he took the train to Phoenix and Mr. Kallenbach also accompanied him. Gandhi felt that the only way the guilty parties could be made to realize his distress and the depth of their own fall would be to undergo a fast for seven days as penance and a vow to have only one meal a day for a period of four and half months. Mr. Kallenbach tried to dissuade Gandhi from undertaking the fast, but in vain. He finally conceded the propriety of the fast as a penance and joined Gandhi in his seven day's fast. Gandhi's fast pained everybody, but it cleared the atmosphere and everyone realized what a terrible thing was it to be sinful and the bonds that bound Gandhi to the boys and girls became stronger and truer. A circumstance arising out of the above incident compelled Gandhi to go into a fast for fourteen days and the resuts exceeded Gandhi's expectations. According to Gandhi fasting is a potent weapon in the satyagraha armoury and has necessarily very strict limitations and is to be undertaken only by those who have undergone previous training.

Fasting and its place in Satyagraha : Is fast coercion

Gandhi frequently wrote in his articles on the dangers of considering any fast as part of satyagraha. The majority of fasts, he declared, were nothing more than hunger strikes undertaken without previous preparation and without adequate thought, He repeatedly warned aganist the indiscriminate use of fasts and was well aware that often there was violence or coercion behind such fasts. Although Gandhi fully believed that fasting could be a most effective weapon, in the armoury of Satyagraha, he recognised that its use must be carefully determined. In the words of Gandhi, "Fasting is a fiery weapon. It has its own science. No one, as far as I am aware, has a perfect knowledge of it. Unsciendtific experimentation with it is bound to be harmful to the one who fast and it may even harm the cause espoused. No one who has not earned the right to do so, should, therefore use this weapon. A fast may only be undertaken by him who is associated with the person aganist whom he fasts. The latter must be directly connected with the purpose for which the fast is being undertaken". In general, according to Gandhi, fasting may be used as an adjunct to other forms of satyagraha. It should not be considered as a form of satyagraha in the sense of mass action. The development of representatives, satyagraha in which individuals are selected to represent the group in offering satyagraha, may, however, make, use of the fast, as an effective weapon in satyagraha.

In the famous Ahmedabad Textile Mill labourer's strike which began on 26th Febuary 1918, the morale of the labourers remained splendid for about a fortnight. Later on, some labourers seemed to be wavering and losing their morale. It was at his critical peirod that Gandhi took one of those sudden decisions which was it once striking and original and he declared, "Instead of five to ten thousands blooming faces full of lustre and shinning determination, I saw but a thousand or two who seemed worn out and dejected.......I am one of those who believe that one has to stick to his vow in any circumstances, I cannot even for a moment tolerate the idea that you should violate the solemn pledge you have taken. Till such time as you would all get your thirty five percent increment or you are all completely defeated in your object. I am not going to touch my food nor am I riding a car". The labourers were thunderstruck and tears rolled down Anusuyabehn's cheeks. Gandhi was very firm to undertake the fast and declared. 'My fast is not on account of lapses on the part of the mill owners, but on account of the lapses of the labourers, in which, as their representative. I felt, I had a share, With the mill-owners, I could only plead. To fast aganist them would amount to coercion. Yet, in spite of my knowledge that my fast was bound to put pressure upon them, as in fact, it did I felt. I could not help it. The duty to undertake it seemed to be clear". Gandhi's fast turned the scales and the labourers again became adamant. In fact, the fast, brought indirect pressure on the mill-owners and Gandhi admitted that to that extent it had an element of coercion in it. He further remarked that he could not help it, as that was the only remedy he could devise for saving the labourers from a fall. In fact, Gandhi's active non-violence or his love for the cause of the labourers was so great that he risked his own life for it. His fast maintained the morale of the labourers and hastened an honourable settlement. Miss. Ferring, a Danish ledy in a telegram to Gandhi said, 'Greater love knoweth on man than that he layeth down his life for the sake of his fellowmen." The net result or Gandhi's fast was that an atmosphere of good will was created all round and the hearts of the mill-owners were touched and they set about discovering some means for settlement. The strike was called off at the end of three days of Gandhi's fast and an honourable settlement was reached. Gandhi remarked at the end of the fast there was no place for harted or ill-will in his fast, and that he was as much the servant of the mill-owners as that of the labourers. Mahadev Deasi described the struggle and Gandhiji's fast as Dharam-yudha' with the cleansed means and the strength spiritual determination and with the least bitterness on both sides and the results were also beneficial for both the parties.

Writing in the Harijan dated 6th May 1933, Gandhi wrote as follows on coercive fasts. "If the expression coercive effect can be lawfully used for my fasts, then in that sense, all fasts can be proved to have that effect to a greater or lesser extent. The fact is that all spiritual fasts always influence. That is why spiritual fasting is described as tapas and all tapas invariably extert purifying influences on those in whose behalf it is undertaken.... However, fasts to attain a selfish object and a fast undertaken to bring money from a person or for fulfilling some such personal end would amount to the exercise of coercion or undue influence. I would unhesitatingly advocate resistance to such undue influence... If people will cultivate the habit of disregarding facts which in their opinion are taken for unworthy ends, such fasts will be robhed of the taint or coercion and undue influence. Like all human institutions fasting can be both legitimately and illegitimately used But, as a great weapon, in the armoury of satyagraha, it cannot be given up because of its possible abuse"

On the eve of the Rowlatt Act, satyagraha to be taken place on 30th March was on changed to 6th April 1919, Gandhi wrote as follows : "The idea came to me last night in a dream that we should call upon the country to observe a general hartal. Satyagraha is a process of self-purification and ours is a sacred fight and it seems to me to be in the fitness of things that it should be commenced with an act of self-purification. Let all the people all over India, suspend their business on that day and observe the day as one of fasting and prayer." On 8th May 1933, Gandhi embarked on a twenty - one day fast in response to "a call from within" and as an act of self-purification. The background for the fast is indeed very remarkable and significant in many ways. In the words of Gandhi himself, I had gone to sleep that night before without the slightest idea to having to declare a fast next morning. At about twelve o' clock in the night something wakes me up suddenly and then some voice within or without - I cannot say, whispers. 'Thou must go on a fast'. How many days? I ask, The voice again says. swently-one days'. "When does it begin?' I ask. it says, "you begin tomorrow. I went off to sleep, after making the decision. "Friends and physicals pleaded with Gandhi that by risking his life he was fisking the cause which was so dear to him. His answer was. "If God required more service from my body, even the body would not dissolve it and if the Harijan's cause was his own. He would throw up men and women to carry on the good work.' All the above statements clearly indicate Gandhi's great and abiding faith in God. Truth and Ahimsa and how fasts are acts of self-purification in response to the shrill and small voice within, though the modern psychoanalysis may dismiss them as wishful thinking or acts of wish fulfilling of his suppressed wishes in his unconscious regions. On 8th May 1933, the first day of his fast, he was released from prison and he was taken to Parnakuti, Lady Thackerry's house in Poona, where Gandhi successfully completed his twenty-one day ordeal. Again he commenced another fast on 16th August in jail to protest against the denial of the facilities for the promotion of the campagin aganist untouchability. When his health deteriorated rapidly, he was released from the jail. In September 1933, Gandhi moved to Wardha and announced a gift of the Saebarmathi Ashram to the Harijan Sevak Sangh. On 7th November, he set out on a country wide tour to promote the Harijans cause and in ten months, he received eight lakhs of rupees towards the Harijan fund and he was greatly pleased, when millions of men, women and children who contributed to his begging bowl become fellow soliders in the campaign against untouchability.

Gandhi's decision to fast unto death from 20th September 1932 onwards for the cause of the Harijans :

While Gandhi was lodged in Yeravda jail he began his fast on 20th September 1932 as a protest, against the bad treatment by the orthodox Hindus of India untouchables whom he called the Harijans-the beloved children of God. Further the fast was also a protest aginst the communal award announced by Macdonald. giving separate electorates to the different communities, including the untouchable. Since Gandhi thought that the communal award would perpetuate untouchability and the untouchable status would be written in the constitution, he straight away declared that he would fast unto death. He further explained that his fast was not to corce the British Government but to stir the Hindu conscience and inspire action. Rabindranath Tagore blessed Gandhi and appealed to the Hindus to work for the fulfilment of Gandhi's mission and leaders like Rajendra prasad and Rajaji appealed to the Hindus to open their temples to the untouchables. Hundreds of Temples in Allahabad, Banares, Calcutta and some places in the Indian states were thrown open

to the Harijans. Orthodox Hindus fraternized with the Harijans at public functions and dined with them. Thousands of messages reached the prison assuring Gandhi that discrimination aganist the untouchables would be removed. Villages and small towns allowed the untouchables to use their water wells. Hindu pupils shared benches formerly reserved to the children of the Harijans. Roads and streets which were previously prohibited for the Harijans were opened to them and thus a spirit of reform, penance and self-purification swept all over the country. Swarup Rani Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru's orthodox mother accepted food from the hand of an untouchable and thousands of prominent Hindu women followed her example. Principal Dhruva of the Banares Hindu University, with numerous Brahmins. dined publicly with street cleaners, cobblers and scavengers. Similar meals were arranged in many places. Untouchability Abolition week was observed throughout India. In February 1933, Gandhi started publishing a weekly paper, "Harijan" to promote anti-untouchability campaign. On 25 September the Poona Pact in place of the communa award was ratified and on 26th September it was simultaneously annouced in London and in Delhi. So, Gandhi broke his fast on the fifth day to the great relief jubilation and joy of the people. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was critical of the fast, observed as follows : "What a magician I thought he was a little man sitting in Yeravda prison. And how well he knew how to pull the strings that move people's hearts." Indeeds Gandhi's success for the cause of the Harijans raised the sagging morale of the people and infused new hope in them and out of this crisis, India emerged morally superior to her opponent. At the end of the "Harijan" Gandhi declared, in August 1934 as follows : Untouchability is on its last legs" Infact, Gandhi quickened the conscience of the Hindus to the wrongs inflicted by them on the Harijans and he also roused the Harijans to the consciousness of their right. Narayana Guru in Kerala, saint Ramalingar in Tamilnadu and saint Kanakadas in Karnataka by their teachings and practices in daily life rendered yeoman service to the Harijans and the dictum. "One caste, one religion and ond God" will have the way for unity of mankind and universal brotherhood on earth.

Patwardhan in Ratnagiri jail, sought permission to clean the jail latriness. The authorities refused to give him permission, as it was aganist the jail rules, So, Patwardhan commenced his fast to vindicate his claim. Then, Gandhi suddenly decided to start a fast on 2nd December 1932. in support of Patwardhan's demand, Gandhi, then declared that he was equally capable of risking his life by undertaking a fast either for a great cause or in support of a dear comrade. He, further made it clear that he could not sit unconcerned and allow a friend to die. Fortunately, the Government settled the matter amicably. Another problem that faced Gandhi was the opening of the famous Lord Krishna temple in Ouruvayar in Kerala and almost simultaneously with Gandhi's fast. Kelappan, a great social worker among the Harijans undertook a fast unto death to get the Guruvayur temple opened to the Harijans. Gandhi persuaded Kelappan to give up the fast and wait for three months since sufficient notice was not given to the trustees of the temple. He promised to share Kelappan's burden and commence his fast, if the temple was not opened to Harijans by first January 1933.

Gandhi's fast in December 1933 in Rajkot against the Thakore Saheb :

Rajkot was a second home to Gandhi, since he received his early education in that place. In December 1938, agreement was reached between Vallabhai Patel and the ruler of Rajkot but later on the ruler backed out of the agreement. For Gandhi. the constitutional reforms for Rajkot

were not so important, but the fact that the ruler committed a breach of faith with the people. So Gandhi visited Rajkot to persuade the ruler not to break his word of honour, When his discussion with the rulers failed, he started his fast in Rajkot in December 1938. The Viceory, in response to Gandhi's appeal for the right approach by the Paramount Power, called upon the chief justice of India. Maurice Gwyar, to adjudicate upon the terms of the agreement. Maurice's verdict went in favour of the people and so Gandhi broke his fast and the dispute seemed to have ended happily. Later on Gandhi thought that the intervention of the Paramount Power through the Viceroy Violated the spritual value of the fast and was thus a lapse from the high-level of non-violence which he set before himself. So Gandhi took some decisions which astounded his friends; since he decided to give up the advantages which the award of the chief justice of India conferred on the people of Rajkot. Those decisions by Gandhi raised a storm of protest and vehement criticism aganist him. Many questions were asked like. "Had Gandhi a right to play fast and loose with the fate of the inhabitants of Rajkot?Was the party of reform in the state to fitter away its hard-won political gains, because Gandhi had lapsed from a self-erected moral pedestal? Gandhi's verdict on this episode was "I was weighed in my own scale in Rajkot and found wanting, which was important not only as a spiritual crisis for Gandhi, but revealed the inflammable situation in the State, Gandhi, asked the people of the state to confine their agitation to the minimum demands which the ruler could be expected to grant freedom of speech, association and press, peaceful propaganda and equality before law through an independent judiciary. In conclusion. Rajkot had been to Gandhi, a priceless laboratory. He stiffened in the demands upon would be satyagrahis that they had to be truly non-violent in action, as well as in thought and if this rigid application of high standards reduced his followers to a handful, he did not mind the same. When Gandhi came to know his lapses, he at once repented and as proof of his repentance, he renounced the fruits of his vicerory, Gandhi's greatness lay in not begin infallible in the use of the technique discovered by himself, but in courage to own his mistake and purge it by renouncing the fruits, Even those who do not believe in the basic principles of satyagraha, sometimes take recour so to Gandhi's technique of of fast. The communist party in India uses the technique of fasting for righting the wrongs for which they feel they have no other remedy. However, Gandhi's technique of fasting will work excellently well, when employed by those who belive in the fundamentals of truth, non-violence and purity of means and have abiding faith in righteousness and goodness of their causes which they champion for the common and general good of the people.

The Historic Fast on 10th February 1943 in Jail and its implication :

All of a sudden, like the bolt from blue on 10th February 1943, a Government communique appeared in press which revealed that Mahatma Gandhi had undertaken a three week fast, Within two or three days, the goverment released the whole correspondence between Gandhi and the Viceroy and between Gandhi and Tottenham the Addittional Secretary in the Home department in the Government of India. The responsibility for the Quit-India disturbances forned the subject of a long and somewhat acrimonious correspondence and that Linlithgow should have questioned Gandhi's bonafides and even his belief in non-violence was more than the Mahatma could bear So, he sought a soothing balm for his mental pain in a twenty-one day fast which began on the historic day. i.e. 10th February 1943, The fast which the Government of India dreaded so long, did take place on that epoch-making day, 10th February 1943. The news of the fast created great stir

and commotion, discontent and anger through out India. Even Government servants in Delhi offered their prayers for Gandhi's life and demanded unconditional release of their beloved leader before the viceroy buildings and three members of the Viceroy's Executive Council. N.R. Sircar, Homy Mody and Aney resigned in protest aganist the Government policy of detention of Gandhi and other leaders. Everywhere people apprehended danger to the life of Gandhi in view of the long fast and his weak health and advanced age and so demanded strongly Gandhi's release and of other leaders too. Indeed there was an emotional upheaval in the country as the doctor's bulletions grew gloomier. But, it was rather strange that the government showed their hardend attitude and even took a great risk, which they had never taken before that the Gandhi's death in prison "In fact, the Vicerory described the fast as a political blackmail, While the fact, the Viceroy described the fast as a political blackmail, While the fast did not immediately melt the hearts of Gandhi's opponents, it certainly helped to reducate Indian opinion in the principles on which sathyagraha campaign would have been run, if Gandhi had the time to launch it so long as Gandhi was a prisoner, he stubbornly refused to pass verdicts on popular violence, because he had only a onesided version from official sources. But, he never hesitated to condemn violence and violent actions. But, Gandhi had his own suspicion that the Government deliberately prayed up the misdeeds of the people and minimised its own repression in order to distract the attention of the world from the real issue of Indian freedom. After his release from the jail, Gandhi remarked that the people did not remain supine under the heavy blows of the government and made it clear that it distressed him very much to find that those who professed to follow him should have forgotten his fundamental principles, of non-violence.

To what extent different communities and even the independents viewed the situation arising out of Gandhi's fact and its implications are clearly indicated by the resolution passed under the presidentship of Tej Bahadur Sapru, "This conference representing different creeds, communities and interests in India, gives expression to the universal desire of the people of the country that in the interests of the future of India and international goodwill, Mahatma Gandhi should be released immediately and unconditionally. This conference views with the gravest concern the serious situation that will arise if the Government fails to take timely action and prevent a catastrophe this conference urges the Government to release Mahatma Gandhi forth with". Further the President of the India League in America, J.J. Singh sent messages to President Roosevelt and General Chiange Hai Shek that he was profoundly disputed by the possility of Gandhi's death. When Gandhi was willingly undergoing the long fast behind the bars and was gradully losing his weight and physical strength. The British Government in England and the Indian government in India thought it advisable to publish charge sheets aganist Gandhi.

Mahatma Gandhi began to improve slowly and steadily and he completed successfully his twentyone day fast and there was great jubilitious joy, and great relief all over India. In the words of Dr. B.C. Roy. "The whole fast was in the nature of a religious ceremony. Right from the begining to the end the whole thing was conceived by him as a part and parcel of a religious ceremony .... It was a period of Tapasya". It is intersting to note that Gandhi started his fast with prayers and ended his fast with prayers. and throughout the period he had himself to tune with infinity, demonstrating his abiding faith in God and his great belief in Tennyson's saying that more things are brought by prayer than man dreams of. To qoute Dr. B.C. Roy, "Day in and day out, while he was being nursed

by doctors and nurses, he was always in a state of communion with higher powers. I can assure you and the whole country that the whole period or his fast the way he fought aganist death.... it was like watching a yagna, like watching a devotee at his prayers and after those prayers were over. I saw him shut his eyes leaning aganist the doors. I dare say to feel the Almighty nearer his heart and then he broke his fast." Let us hear the views of Mr.Horace Alexander, who visited Poona and saw Gandhi twice during the period of his impressions of the fast are as follows : "Mahatma Gandhi's fast is a call to dediction. It is a solemn act of self-purification and rededication for the sins and, sufferings of India and of the World. I think that is surely a part of his message that he sent to us by calling us to a fresh dedication of our lives in the service of suffering humanity" On the conclusion of his fast, Gandhi himself said, "I do not know why Providance has saved me on this occasion, possibility it is because he has some more mission for me to fulfil". Even after the successful completion of his fast, Gandhi and the other leaders were once again the same helpess witnesses to what was happening in the country, the face certainly revived in the hearts of Indians a strong hope that there might once again be an attempt to solve the Indian dead lock. Among other things, the historic fast proved beyond doubt the immense popularity of Gandhiji with the people of India as well as abroad and further showed that in the twentieth century miracle could be performed by sincere and heart-felt prayers and it was performed by Mahatma Gandhi and like all greatmen. Gandhi bore the sins of others by his fasts and sufferings. It is rather tragic that after this historic fast and after nursing back and looking after Gandhi and after learning some lessons of Indian Geography and other subjects at the ripe of old age of seventy four from her husband in Yeravda jail, Kasturbei became seriously ill with serious bronchitis. With her head resting on Gandhi's lap, she breahted her last on 22nd February. When Gandhi's health became very bad and his blood pressure low, he and other leaders were released from jail at 8 A.M. on 6th May and that was Gandhi's last time in jail. Altogether he spent 2089 days in Indian and 249 days in South African prisons.

The Epoch-makeing Fast on 13th January 1948. In Delhi For Human Brotherhood :

After changing remarkably the people of Calcutta and after stopping the year long Hindu-Musilm riots by his fast in September 1947. Gandhi decided to visit Punjab. On his way, he stopped in Delhi and found Delhi like a city of the dead. After partition, Hindu and Sikh refugees from West Punjab which had became a part of Pakistan, had flooded Delhi, Gandhi diligently set about on a schedule of hard and persistent work to bring peace to Delhi and to bring sense and feelings of human tenderness to the people for Delhi. He visited Jamia millia Islamia, a Musilm educational Institution at Okla near Delhi and the school was made safe for the Muslims and the expected massacre and destruction never took place at Okla. He travelled without escort of guards through refugee camps and in the words of Louis Fisher. "In this city of dead and made people, Mahatma Gandhi tried to spread the gospel of love and peace". All were not yet well in Delhi, though the riots had stopped temporaily and the Musilms could not move freely and safely throughout the city. So. Gandhi was still inwardly pained over the situation. He felt helpess, but he did not like feeling helpless. He wanted to visit Pakistan and tried his best to stop the riots and the ill-treatment towards the Hindus, However he argued within himself with what moral justification could he plead with the Muslims of Pakistan to treat the Hindus as brothers, when the Hindus of Delhi and in other parts of India did not treat the Musilms as brothers? His feelings to great depression, anxiety and

helplessness could not continue for many days since out of the depths of his agony and anguish, it came to him in a flash that he should fast and the epoch-making date was 13th January 1948 and the historic place was the small room in the Birla House in new Delhi and it was his fifteenth and the last fast in his sojourn on the planer. He had not consulted his doctors or political leaders or friends and no argument and no persuasion could dissuade him from his momentous decision and the immortal fast commenced at 11 A.M. on 13th January 1948 in Delhi to awaken the people throughout India for Humman Brotherhood i.e for Hindu - Muslim unity.

On the previous day, Gandhi held his usual prayer meeting and after Scrpiture and prayers. he began his post prayer talk and an analytical approach will reveal clearly his views on fasts. their importance in Satyagraha and their implications for Hindu-musilm unity throughout the country. Let us quote some important passages of the benefit to the leader; "One fasts for health's sake under laws governing healthy fasts as a penance for wrong done and felt as such. In these fasts, one need not believe in Ahimsa. There is, however, a fast which avotary of non-violence sometimes feels impelied to undertake by way of protests against some wrongdone by society and this he does, when he as a votary of ahimsa, has no other remedy to him.

"A Pure fast, like duty, is its own reward. I do not embark on it for the sake of the results it may bring, I do so, because must Hence, I urge everybody dispassionately to examine the purpose and let me die, if must, in peace which I hope is ensured. Death for me would be a glorious deliverance rather than should be a helpless witness of the destruction of India".

"I am in God's hands. Rather the people should turn the searchlights inwards, for this is essentially a testing time for all of us. Those who remain at their post of duty and perform it diligently and well; now more as than hitherto, will help me and the cause in every way. The fast is a process of self purification.

Gandhi spent the afternoon on the first day of the fast seated on a simple cot in the inner court of Birla house, when, many friends came to him with tears in their eyes, Gandhiji said to them, "Now is the time for work, not emotion". When a woman came to him seeking guidance, he said to her, "Brave deeds and not vain laments should be our motto". A Sikh friend met Gandhi for advice and he said to him. "My fast is not aganist no one party, group or individual exclusively and yet it excludes nobody. It is addressed to the conscience of all, even the majority community in the other Domination, If the Sikhs respond to my appeal as one man shall be wholly satisfied. I shall go and live in their midst in the Punjab, for they are brave people and I know they can set an example in nonviolence of the brave which will serve as an object (lesson) to all the rest".

On Wednesday, 14th January 1948 early in the morning, Gandhi dictated a message in Gujarati to the people of province of Gujarat and whatever he wrote in Gujarati was addressed equally of all the people of India do not regard this fast as an ordinary fast. I have undertaken it after deep thought and yet it has sprung not from reasoning, but God's will that rules men's reason. It is addressed to no particular section or individual and it is addressed equally to all. There is no trace of anger of and kind behind it not the slightest tinge of impatience. "The above passage indicates Gandhi's great and abiding faith in God and his interest in performing all his actions as an offering to God, and his great interest in Hindu-Musilm unity. On some other occasion,. in his reply to his friend who criticised his fast, he wrote as follows. "It was only when in terms of human efforts, I

had exhausted all resources and fully realized my utter helplessness that I put my head on God's lap. That is the inner meaning and significance of my fast. If you read ponder in your mind the epic to Ganendra Moksha, you might be able to appraise properly my step,". After examing Gandhi, Dr. Sushila Nayar told him that there were acetine bodies in his urine. Gandhi answered, that is because I have not enough fatith in God." The Lady doctor protested and said "But, this is a chemical". Gandhi immediately replied, How little science knows? There is more in life than science and there is more in God than in chemistry." At 2-30 a.m. early on 15th January, Gandhi woke up and asked for a hot bath. While in the bath tub, he dictated a statement to Pyarelal, asking the Indian Union Government to pay to Pakistan Rs. 50,00,00,000 due to Pakistan under the Indo-Pakistan financial agreement. In response to Gandi's request the Government of India decided to put into effect immediately the financial agreement with Pakistan to remove the one cause of suspicion and friction between the two countries. Jawaharlal Nehru observed as follows, "This decision is the Government" contribution, to the best of their ability, to the non-violent and noble effort made by Gandhi, in accordance with the glorious traditions of this great country for peace and good -will, we have come to this decision in the hope that this gesture, in accordance with India's high ideals and Gandhi's noble standards will convince the world of our earnest desire for peace and good will". Thus, the Indian Government paid its debt in full to Pakistan, while Gandhi was still in his epic fast for Hindu-Musilm unity. Jawaharlal Nehru further remarked. "six months ago we witnessed a miracle in Calcutta, where ill-will changed overnight into good will thorugh the alchemy of a similar fast the alcheuged who worked this change was described as the one-man boundary force, which succeeded when the Boundary Force of 50,000 men in West Punjab did not succeed in keeping the peace. The unarmed knight of non- violence is functioning again, may the same alchemy work again in India and else where".

It is rather amazing that Gandhi never missed his evening prayer meetings and his talks durings his fast period and inspite of his bad health and weakness and feeble voice. When he was very weak and unable to go to the prayer ground, a microphone was connected from his bed to a loud speaker at the prayer ground. Thus he spoke rather indirectly to the large gathering at the prayer meeting and his message was also relayed by the All India Radio to the nation on the third day of his fast and he appealed that each one of them should turn the searchlight inwards and purify his or her heart and remarked, "All must die some day or other. No one could escape death. Then, why be afraid of death? In fact death was a friend which brought deliverance from suffering" On the fourth day of Gandhi's fast, the city of Delhi was stirred and the conscience of the people was pricked and there was numerous processions with Hindu-Muslim unity slogans. There were heart felt prayers in all temples, mosques and churches for the long life of Mahatma Gandhi. The post offices stamped all mail with the slogan "Communal harmony will save Gandhiji written in English, Hindi and Urdu. The Nawab of Bhopal issued a firman or order on the fast, asking his people of all faiths and classes to work together to advance the end for which Gandhi was fasting. Saturday was declared a holiday for Delhi to enable people of all faiths to pray to the Almighty to save Gandhi's life. In Calcutta special prayers were held throughout the city in places of workship wishing all success to Gandhi in his mission in Delhi. Thousands of woman volunteers took peace processions in Delhi and shouted peace slogans which were echoed by the bystanders.

It was the fifth day of Gandhis fast and he lost a number of pounds in his weight. Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad came to see Gandhi and Dr. Roy told them that Gandhiji was on the verge of a crisis. Gandhi gave them the following conditions for ending the fast. (1) The annual Muslim ceremony at Mahrauli shrine near Delhi be permitted. (2) The non-Musilms to vacate the

mosques. (3) Muslims of Delhi be assured of their safety. (4) Muslims who had migrated from Delhi be made welcome to return. (5) Muslims to be assured of safe travel on trains. (6) No social boycott of Musilms. (7) Muslims in Delhi to have the freedom to choose localities in which to live instead of being forced into certain localities. Numerous peace gatherings, rallies and parades were held in old Delhi as well as in New Delhi. Gandhiji dictated his message to the prayer meeting on the fifth day of his fast and the concluding portion of the message is as follows : "My fast should be considered as a political move in any sense of the term. It is in obedience to the peremptory call of conscience and duty. It is in obedience to the paremptory call of conscience and duty. It comes out of left agency and I call to witness all my numerous Musilm friends in Delhi... I feel never so happy, as when I am fasting for the spirit. This fast has brought me higher happiness than hitherto. No one need disturb this happy state, unless he can honestly claim that in his journey, he has turned deliberately from Satan towards God".

It was the sixth day of Gandhi's fast and his conditions was reported to have grown from bad to wrose, since he suffered from nausea and stomach pains. In fact, he was even reported near death and only a miracle could save him and great miracle did happen to save Mahatma Gandhi. During the day, he felt better and he received a light message and his weight was only 107 pounds. Dr. Rajendra Prasad. the new Congress President and other leaders met Gandhi and gave the peace pledge document signed by more than two lakh people and also signed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad and by many prominent Musilm leaders. Then, Gandhi told the leaders that what they had told him had touched him deeply. He was sitting on the cot, silenty, and thinking deeply. Every one waited. India waited and the whole world waited. Finally, Gandhiji announcef that he was ready to break the fast and Dr. Jivraj Mehta announced the good news at 12-30 p.m. to the anxious crowd waiting outside Birla House that Gandhiji at last broke his fast and the breaking of the fast was followed with usual cermony of prayers from all religions. A new spirit tolerance and reconcilliation swept not one in Delhi and in other parts of India, but also in Pakistan. The track of war had lessened and the people and the government had begun to face facts. In New York, the foreign minister of Pakistan informed the security council of the United Nations. "a new wave and a tremendous wave of feeling and desire for friendship between the two dominions is sweeping the sub-continent in reponse to Gandhi's fast" A singnificant editorial appeared in London in the News Chronicle and it was titled. "Light in the East". At the top of the editional was Nehru's words,'whatever Gods there be, there is something godlike in man and in the end the godlike and the food together will prevail, can there be a greater and more glorious tribute to Gandhi and the miraculous effects of Gandhi's fast-the fifteenth and the last fast undertaken by Gandhi, when he was seventy nine years old, in Delhi for human brotherhood and for Hindu Muslim-Unity in India as well as in Pakistan?

Exercise

1. Critically examine Gandhi is fasts
2. "Fast in a weapon of non-violent Action" - Discuss.

Fild Work / Application

1. Witness fastings undertaken as part of nonviolent campaigns :
2. Discuss Your two fasting experience.
3. Visit the historical places connected with Gandhi's fasts.

Lesson 16

CONTEMPORARY EXAMPLES OF NON-VIOLENT ACTION CASE STUDIES

(1) AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR

The greedy traders, intolerant religious 'Purists' and criminals migrated from West Europe and especially from England to the North American continent starting from the XVI century and established.Thirteen colonicss The ntive Red Indians who were the original inhabitants of the land were genocided gradually. These settlers styled themselves as "Americans (?I)" and fought for their "freedom" from their 'Mother' country (England) and thus the united States of America (U.S.A.) came into exitence.

The Blacks were 'imported' into the USA and they were used as slaves for the most difficult manual work. These Blacks have contributed in a significant way in building up the USA. eith the growth if Machinary, espically in Northern USA, the need for slavery was substaintially reduced in the mid XIX century. The concept of equality and human rights which arose in Western Europe also had its impact in USA. The Southern USA. which was predominantly agrarian wanted to cede from USA. President Abraham Lincoin in his attempt to protect and strengthen the unity of USA abolished slavery militantly (thus-weakening and revenging the Southern states of USA. Which opposed him). But Blaclks were not given equal rights and they were treated as second rate citizens.

Blacks played a significant role in the World Wars and their sacrifices in a large measure contributed to the definite American Victory. They expected in return equality and fair treatment. But the custom and state laws in Southern USA segregated Blacks form Whites in respect to hotels. restaurants, schools, housing, parks recreation grounds, waiting rooms, railway stations, trains, buses streetcars and all public places.

The Blacks were treated as second rate citizens and experienced severe hardships. The racial discrimination, though prevailedthroughout USA. varied in its intensity from state to state, In Montgomery, Alabama, racial segregation was at a maximum. In that city last three rows of seats were reserved for the Blacks. They cannot occupy front seat even it they are not occupied by the whites for whome they were reserved. But if a white person board the bus when the front four rows were filled with whites and last rows filled with Negroes, the bus driver would ask a Negro to move back and he would have to stand while the White person took his seat. Mrs. Rosa Parks, a dignified and higly respected and noble Negro Seanstress was asked to vacate a seat in a Montogomery bus in favour of a white person on Dec. 1, 1955. She refused and was arrested for violating the cities' segregation cordinance. This set in a chain reaction. The Negroes unanimously decided to boycott the buses on Dec. 5th and that was a total success. Then it was again unanimously to continue the boycott. An organisation was formed to organise this non-violent struggle under the

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Note : only in a few places the word : 'Negro' is used. In all other places the word 'Black' has been used as its equivalent. The new usage is "Afro-Americans" and the Whites are "Euro-Americans" aganist"Native Americans".

name Montegomery improvement Association. Dr. Martin Luthur King, an Young Negro Minister was elected as its leader. (Also the Appendix).

Several committees were organised. The transportation committee first organised a taxi service and then formed a car-pool. Yet thousands had the walk. A Negro car-pool driver requested a old Negro woman who was walking with great difficluty. "Jump in grandmonther you don't need to walk". She waved him to go no "I am not walking for myself, she called out". I' walking for my children and grand children. "Another Negro woman said she preferred feet to a tired soul.

Mass meetings were organized often in the Negro churches. In these crowded meetings programmes included prayers, scripture reading, singing of hymns and reports by the committees. Dr. Martin Luther King and the other leaders explained the non-violent nature of this movement night after night. Dr King explained in great detail the effectiveness on nonviolent action and the strategies of love and nonviolent action in the face of violent attacks and hatred. Practical demonstrations were given to meet the violent situations.

The boycott was effective. The Negro car drivers were arrested on all sorts of pratents and insurance Commpanies cancelled the Insurance of Negro cars in an attempt to break this boycott. All attempts were made to spoil the Negro unity and false statements and rumours were circulated by the whites. Dr. King was arrested for allegedly speeding in his car. Latter on attempts were made to kill him. The Negroes were but still acted peacefully. Dr. King's plea for love and nonviolence instead by hatred, anger and violence was accepted.

Meanwhile this created a world wide impact and sympathy for the Black cause. Support came in form all directions. The Negro law-years took the segreation issue to the Federal court claiming that such an activity is unconstitutional. Latter on the US Supreme Court also affirmed this. The effective bus boycott and the court verdict drove the extremist whites to resort to violent action. But this created a reaction and the emerging effective public-opinion stopped it. Dr. King was welcomed as the first passenger into a bus by a cheerful white driver. This is only the begining of a big Movement. From 1955 to 1968 (Until his assassinagtion) Dr. Martin Luther King lead the nonviolent struggle for the Civil rights of the Blacks in the United states. He was awarded Nobel Peace Prize and nonviolent action acquired a new dimension and global recognition. The details are to be found in the following appendix. It is an excellent version by Dr. Homer Jack and Kindly read it again and agin with great care. The appendex is more important and the lession is only an introduction.

APPENDIX ONE

MAHATMA GANDHI AND MARTIN LUTHER KING

HOMER A. JACK

1. INTRODUCTION

Dr. and Mrs. Howard Thurman of Howard University in Washington. D.C., had an interview with Mohandas Gandhi on February 21, 1936 (1) According to Gandhi's secretary, Mahadev Desai, the meeting was the "first engagement of an important nature uindertaken by the Indian leader after the breakdown in his health". Nevertheless, he wanted to meet this "American Negro deleration". Gandhi began by asking Dr. Thurman - a professor of comparative religion and philosophy - if "the prejudice aganist color" was growing or dying out. Dr. Thurman replied that it was "difficult to say because in one place things look much improved while in another the outlook is still dark". Then the Thurman asked Gandhi if the South African Negroes took any part in his earlier, movement Gandhi replied, "No I purposly did not invite them. It would have endangered their cause......, When Dr. Thurman asked Gandhi if nonviolence, was a, form of direct action, Gandhi replied that "without a direct active expression of it, nonviolence to my mind is meaningless. He added that "one cannot be passively non-violent.

The interview went along in this manner until both the Thurman eclered. "We want you to come to America". Mrs. Thurman added, "We want you not for white America but for the Negroes; we have many problem that cries for solution and we need you badly". Gandhi answered, "How I wish I could, but I would have nothing to give you unless I had given an occular demonstration here of all that I have been saying I must make good the message here before I bring it to you I do not say that I am defeated, but I have still to perfect myself. You may be sure that the moment I feel the call within me I shall not hesitate" Dr. Thurman changed the subject and declared that "When one goes through the pages of the hundreds of Negro spirituals, strikinbg things are brought to my mind which remaind me of all that you have told us today" Gandhi concluded the interview: Well, if it comes true it may be through the Negroes that the unadulterated message of nonviolence will be delivered to the world".

At the time then Gandhi made this prophetic statement. Martin Luther King, Jr., was only seven years old. Yet King grew up to be called "the American Gandhi" during his life-time and especially after his death.

The purpose of this lecture is to trace the sources of Gandhism in the thought and action of Martin Luther King, jr They turn out to be multiple and indeed to impinge upon King at different times throughout his short life. King was born of January 15,1929. He received the Nobel Peace Prize on December 10, 1964 when he was 35 years old. He was assassinated on April 4, 1968 when he was but 39 years old. Indeed, his whole ministry was short, less than 14 years from the time that he became pastor of his first church in Montogomey, Alabama on September 1, 1954 until he died in Memphis, Tennesse.

2. GANDHI AND KING COMPARED

There are obvious parallels in the lives of Mohandas karamchand Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. Both were colored men. Both came out of the middle class of their people. Both were well educated. Both married and had four children (all sons for Gandhi, two daughters for king). Both led large political movements, using the method of nonviolent action (Satyagraha). Both help no public office, yet both exerted more power and gained more adulation than most elected statesmen of their time. Both were charismatic. Both Ironically died by the bullet, although they were votaries of non-violence. Both were acknowledged in death, and even, in life, as the greatest humanitarians of their time. The world truly grieved at the passing of both. Both died in the very midst of battle. Both had premonitions of death and both died felling a sense of disppaointment, of a lack of fulfillment, not of victory.

Yet the parallels in the lives of Gandhi and King are not complete. Gandhi was an Asian, although he spend several decades in Africa and studied in England. He never visited America. King was an American, of African ancestry. He visited both Africa and Asia (India), but never lived outside the United States. Gandhi was for ward-looking, but distinctly a nineteenth century man. King was twentieth century. Their lives overlapped by 20 years: 1919-when King was born - to 1948, when Gandhi was assasainated.

Gandhi and King never met they never corresponded. They had several mutual friends (Stuart Nelson and Amiya Chakravarty), although Gandhi could not have known, even at his death, that the 20-yeat-old King existed. Gandhi was a Hindu and King was a Chirstan, Gandhi was a lawyer by training and King studied to be a clergyman. Gandhi lived to 78 years; King was cut down at 39. Gandhi was the leader of the majority in his nation; King was the leader of a minority. Gandhi was recovered the world over, yet obly King received the Nobal Peace Prize.

3. THE INTELLECTUAL FRAMEWORK

This lecture is an exploration of the sources of Gandhism in the life and thought, and actlon of Martin Lurther King. It is not meant to be a detailed study of the totality of King's intelectual inquiry or productivity. Several books have already been published covering this subject[3] King was a formal student from the time he entered. More house College in 1944 through his year at Corzer Theological Seminary and until he left the Boston University School of Theology in 1954 to assume his first pastorate in Montgomery, King has become such an important personality in history that even the course work in these institutions of higher learning has been carefully studied, far beyond what he himself has written about them[4].

Many intellectual influences have been found in King's student years which later contributed to his more Mature thought and action. Gandhi was only one influnece. Also important were George W. Davis, a Crozer professor, and the latter's evangelical liberalism; Walter Rauschenbusch and the Social Gospel Movement Reinhold Niebuhr; and Prof. L. Harold De Wolf of Boston University and his Personalism, Thus systematic Chirstain thinking, quite apart from the Black Church of his father and actions. Yet among the intellectual influence there was indeed Gandhism. That is what this lecture emphasizes.

4. AT CROZER SEMINARY

During the three years - beginning in 1948 King spent at Crozer Theological Seminary outside Philadelphia, he became acquainted with Gandhism on several levels. He took a course with Prof, Georage W. Davis on the psychology of religion. This apparently included a discussion of Gandhi[5] Also A.J. Muste, the secretary of the American section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, visited and talked to the students of Crozer as he did to those at other theological schools. In addition, King went tonear by Philadelphia and heard Howard University President, Mordecal W. Johnson, talk about his recent visit to India and about Gandhi, Even before reaching crozer Theological Seminary King read Thorea's Essay on the Duty of civil Disobedience as a part of philosophy class at Morehouse college.

In the post - war climate in American Protestant Theological schools, King and other students relished the debates between those who identified with the militantly anti pacifist. Reinhold Niebuhr and those who supported the equally militant pacifist A.J. Muste. King later wrote : "During my stay at Crozer, I was also exposed for the first time to the pacifist position in a lecture by Dr. A.J. Muste. I was deeply moved by. Dr. Muste's talk, but far from convinced of the practicability of his position". [7]king apparently did not hear Niebuhr, then a theological professor in New York City, but he was initially attracted to the 'realism" of Neibuhr. King, a Baptist, was also impressed by the writings of a white Baptist of an earlier generation Walter Rauschenbusch. King did not have to make up his mind in this ideological battle, either at Crozer or when he went later to the School of Theology of Boston University. He was however, forced to put into practice one or another of these theories of political action after the movement commenced in Montgomery late in 1955. King took an elective course in the autumn of 1950 with Prof. Davis on The Psychology of Religion. Each student in this lecture-seminar course had to select a major figure for research and then oral presentation. King selected Gandhi. He had available at Crozer an ample library of books by and about Gandhi including some by C.F. Andrews, Romain Rolland Richard B.Gregg[8], and Bishop F.B. Fisher[9].

While at Crozer King was impresed with a description of Gandhi given by President Modecai Johnson, in the spring of 1950 King wrote. "Then one Sunday afternoon I travelled to Philadelphia to hear a sermon by Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University. He was there to preach for the Fellowship House of Philadelphia, Dr, Johnson had just returned from a trip to India and, to my great interest, he spoke of the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. His message was so profound and elecrifying that I left the meeting and bought a halfdozen books on Gandhi's life and works[10]". Johnson had attended the word Pacifist Meeting in India during the closing days of 1949. He met some of the associates of Gandhi. Johnson told the American audience that Gandhi was " a great man" on five counts. He liberated India, he did so without firing a shot, he embraced the Untouchables as "children of God". he knew how to harness the redemptive power of love to social issues, and he died, like Jesus, a redemptive death which lessened the Hindu-Musilm tension[11], In 1958, King recalled, "My interest (in Johnson's lecture) was purely academic. Gandhi had taken the ethic of love to the level of social strategy, but I never thought I would be involved in a social movement where this would be used[12]".

King was no doubt added his apprecation of Gandhi in many books, over many years, For example, Bishop and Mrs. James Mathews observed that king appreciated the 1948 volume by & Johnes on Gandhi. They wrote that King, as he once told us, was awakened decisively in his interest in nonviolence through the reading of E. Stanley Jones' Mahatma Gandhi - An Interpretation[13]".

5. JULLETTE MORGAN

In December 1955, Matin Luther King, Jr., was elected as president of the group organizing the boycott of the bus system in Montgomery, Alabama, because it segregated Negro passengers. One of the first persons to be perceptive enough to relate the Montgomery Bus Boycott to Gandhism was Miss Juliette Morgan of Montgomery. The boycott began on December, 1, 1955, and a few days thereafter she sent a letter to the local newspaper, King wrote about this significant act in his first published book as follows : About a week after the protest started, a white who understood and sympathized with Nergoes' efforts wrote a letter of the editor of the *Montgomery Advertiser* comparing the bus protest with the Gandhian movement in India. Miss Juliette Morgan, sensitive and frain, did not long survive the rejection and condemnation of the white community, but long before she died in the summer of 1957 the name of Mahatma Gandhi was well-known in Montgomery"[14].

The text of Miss Morgan's letter of December 12th is as follows : The Negroes of Montgomery seem to have taken a lesson from Gandhi - and our own Thoreau, who influenced Gandhi. Their "own task is greater than Gandhi's howerver, for they have greater prejudice to overcome. One feels that history is being made in Montgomery in these days, the most important in her career, It is hard to imagine a soul so dead, a heart so hard, a vision so blinded and provincial as not to be moved with admiration at the quiet dignity, disciplined, and dedication with which the Negroes have conducted their boycott"[15].

When the leaders of the boycott read this letter, their curiosity led them to identify Miss Morgan, She was a young white librarian who came from an old Alabama family who lived alone with her mother. Also the segregationists in Montgomery Identified her and she became the recipient of all kinds of telephone and other abuse. For a combination of reasons, she committed suicide with an over dosage of sleeping pills in 1957"[16].

Miss Morgan's letter did two things for the movement. As King wrote, "People who had never heard of the little brown saint of India were now saying his name with an air of familiarity." [17] Also King himself. as president of the Montgomeny Improvement Association felt that he had to develop a more systematic philosophy of action, especially along Gandhian lines. He welcomed "outsiders" to help him develop such a strategy and began to articulate this philosophy in his twice weekly evening rallies during the campaign.

6. MONTGOMERY AND GANDHISM

During the 382 days of the Montogomery bus Boycott. King and his associates stumbled into using Gandhian techniques. Their tactics began to be called Gandhian and they had no reason to contradict the label; indeed, they slowly tried to make their campaign more Gandhian. They

were helped by fellow - Americans outside the South, both blacks and whites who had independenly if earlier experimented with the use of Gandhian techniques in American race relations.

As much as 14 years earlier - 1942 - some Americans had intentionally used Gandhian techniques to lessen segregation in Chicago, This effort was stimulated by A.J. Muste and the American branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. They sent a young Black organizer, James Farmer, to Chicago to help some students to use Gandhian techniques to desegregate housing and public facilities - restaurants - in the University of Chicago area In this process, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was established. This was 14 years old by the time of the Montgomery campaign and had some successes, and failures, in Chicago, on a Journey of Reconciliation to end segregation of inter state buses in middle South, and elsewhere.

If King did not have direct contact up to that period with CORE. he did have an adviser who was involved in CORE. : Bayard Rustin. The latter by then was not the staff of the War Resisters League. A second adviser was no the staff of the F.O.R., Glenn Smiley, who was quietly sent to Montgomery. Both Rustin and Smiley in different ways helped King and the Montgomery Improvement Association become Gandhian in more than name.

Initially, the movement was not called Gandhian except by Miss Morgon in her letter to the newspaper. When King' house was bombed on January 30, 1956, the Police Commissioner asked King to reassure an assembling group of Negroes at night time. King addressed the crowd, urging them not to retaliate aganist the white community, He said, "We are not advocating violence. We want to love our enemies. I want you to love our enemies. Be good to them, Love them and let them know you love them[19].

The next day, however, King applied to the Country Sheriff for a pistol permit so that the watchman at his home could he armed. At a speech in Chicago, King emphasized that the protest', is a movement of passive resistance." [20]Because of the bombing, king's father put strong pressure on him to leave Montgomery because of further threats, but King in the end replied, "I would rather go back and spend ten years in jail than not go back". Late in February when a number of negrose were arrested for breaking the state anti-boycott law, King at a mass rally said. "If we are arrested every day, if we are exploited every day, if we are trampled every day, don't ever let anyone pull you fas as to hate them. We must use the weapon of love. We must have compassion and understanding for those who hate us[22].

The mass indictments brought national attention to the Montgomery protest. One national TV commentator compared the protesters to Gandhi and the position of the white leadership of Montgomery to that of the British in India.

Bayord Rustin the Negro civil rights leader, visited Montgomery on February 21st. He had several long talks with King. The movement was increasingly being called "passive resistance" by king. Rev. Glen E. Smiley, a staff member of the F.O.R. and a native of Taxes, arrived in Montgomery on February 27th. Smiley said to King: "I"m assuming that you're very familiar and have been greatly influenced by Mahatma Gandhi. "Smilery later recalled King's answer "As a matter of fact, no, I know who the man is. I have read some statements by him, and so on but I will have to truthfully say... that I know very little about the man"[23] Rustin and Smiley were in constant commu-

nication with New York Pacifist circles (more than they were with each other in tense Montigomery!.) The Easteners were afraid that either man would be seen as too closely advising King. The influential Negro leader A Philip Randolph, felt that Northerners should organize national support for the boycott in the north but should not interfere on the scene. John Swomely of the F.O.R. staff felt that northern pacifists should not try to dicate strategy or even train southern leaders, Randolph was quoted as observing that the Montgomery leaders had managed to run a more successful campaign than "any of our so - called nonviolence experts"[21].

Rustin did not stay long in Montgomery. but kept in close touch with King. He wrote friends in New York that "King is developing a decidedly Gandhi - like view" and was eagerly learning all that he can about nonviolence." Yet on a visit to the King personage Rustin and Negro Journalist William Worthy were start led to find a pistol on the armchair. King said the gun was intended to harm no one unless they were violently attacked. Rustin, according to King. biographer David Garrow, "attempted to persuade King that even the presence of guns was contrary to the philosophy that he was increasingly articulating"[19].

King was tried for breaking the state's anti-boycott law-and convicted. He was fined 500 dollars and court costs. When he left the courthouse, King told 300 cheering people : We will continue to protest in the same spirit of nonviolence and passive resistance, using the weepon of love."[26] Some days later King spoke to 2,500 Negroes at the Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn, telling them how Gandhi used "passive resistance" to break loose from "the political and economic domination by the British and brought the British Empire to its knees." He added : Let's know use this method in the U.S. [27] In an interview King Stated "I have been a keen student Gandian for many years. However, this business of passive resistance and nonviolence is the gospal Jasus. I went to Gandhi through jesus"[28].

Early in December 1956, the Montgomery Improvement Association sponsored a week - long Institute on Nonviolence and Socia Change. King delivered the opening address, almost a year after he addressed the first rally or the bus boycott. He said that real goa of the campaign was not to defeat the white man. but "to awake a sense of shame within the oppressor and challenge his false sense of superiority," He said that "the end is reconiliation; the end is redemption; the end is the creation of the beloved cemmunity", (29) Before Christmas the U.S.Supreme Court's decision, affirming a lower court to end bus segregation in Montgomery was implemented. The bus company welcomed King as the first passenger in an early morning bus, with the white minister. Glenn Smiley seated next to him.

7. VISITING GANDHI'S INDIA

Some of King's friends - especially Bayard Rustin and Harris Wofford should suggested that he visit India. They and others asked, "Why dont you go to India and see for yourself what the Mahatma, whom you so admire, Indeed, both Prime Ministe Nehru and Former U.S. Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, urged King to go, One planned trip was postponed but after King was stabbed in Harlem, and recovered, it appeared possible for the Kings to leave for India in January 1959. This was several years after the Montgomery campaign was succesfully concluded and several years before the March on Washington and the Nobel Peace Prize.

The Indian connection was forged early when Shri. R.R. Diwakar visited for there days Montgomery in mid - August 1956. A iongtime Gandhian, Diwakar was the President of the Gandhi Peace Foundation. As a result of Diwakar's visit, several Gandhian institutions in India kept in touch with King[30].

Wofford arranged for the Christopher Reynolds Foundation to make a grant of 5,000 dollers through the American Friends Service Committee for the King's partly to visit India. The Gandhi Memorial Trust (Gandhi Smarak Nidhi) and the Gandhi Peace Foundation were the Indian hosts. Swami Vishwananda and James E. Bristol an employee of the American Friends Service Committee (at the time working in India) were assigned to help with the tour[31].

Richard Gregg, whose "The power of Nonviolence" influenced King, wrote to King as follows: To understand Gandhi;s program you must see some of the village life. You can't imagine the poverty; it must be seen to be comprehended and believed[32].

Lawrence D. Reddick of Alabama State collge in montgomery accompained King on the trip. They left New York City on February thrid via Paris and Geneva. In Paris, Reddick introduced King to American black novelist Richard wright. Because of weather problems, they landed in India two days late. King spoke at crowded press conferences, asseriting that "to other countries I may go as a tourist but to india come as piligrim[33]"

The one - month visit, took the King's Party to many parts of India. They made the clockwise visit, beginning in New Delhi and ending there. In the capital they dined with Nehru, had tea with Vice-President Radhakrishnan. and called on President Rajendra Prasad, Coretta recalled that her husband remarked that it had been "like meeting George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison in a single day[34]".They laid a wreath in Gandhi Samathi' at the Rejghat and King spoke to the Delhi University Student union. Then they flew to Bihar to visit Jayaprakash Narayan at his ashram From there they rode to Shantiniketan, Tagore's ashram and school. Then they moved on to Calcutta, Madras - where they met C, Rajagopalachari; and Madurai. There they visited several Gramdan villages - on land given during Vinoba Bhave's movement - and also went to Gandhigram where they saw students in the Shanth Sena, the "peace army". The King's party visited Trivandrum, Bangalore, Bombay, Ahmedabad, and then walked with Vinoba Bhave who was attending an All India Shanthi Sena Conference. Jayapraksh Narayan was also in attendance. Back in Delhi; King gave a farewell to a press conference and advocated unilateral disarmamant (after his talks with Vinoba. He regretted that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. had not disarmed themselves. He asked India to do so, since it had demonstrated that a nation can win independence non violently.[35]

King summarized his impressions of his visit to India in an article in Ebony magazine a large picture periodical especially for black readers. He wrote that it was "wonderful to be in Gandhi's land, to talk to his sons, his grandsons...to share the feminiscences of his close comrades, to visit his ashram". King felt that they were "looked upon as brothers with the color of our skins as something of an asset. "But he quickly added that "the strongest bond was the common cause of minority and colonial peoples".[36]

King admitted that the visit was "one of the most concentrated and eye - opening experiences" of their lives. He met some untouchables and later wrote. "There is, even here, the prob-

lem of segregation. We call it race in America. They call it caste in India. King concluded that in both places it means that some are considered inferior, treated as through deserve less". He prbably had a higher opinion of the results of the official efforts to outlaw untoucbahility than was warranted, even though he was tutored in this matter by Nehru.

King left India "more convinced than ever before that nonviolent resistance is the most potent weapon available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom. King came back to America convinced that "India needs help". Again, he wrote in *Ebony* that "today India has a tremendous force for peace and nonviolence at home and abroad". He called it "a land where the idealist and the intellectual are respected, "He asked his fellow Americans help India, preserve her soul and thus help to save our own".

Coretta king later wrote that King as a result of his India visit "constantly pondered" how to apply simplicity of living to America. "She reported that her husband" even considered the idea of changing his style of dress to a simpler one, but he decided that since his main 'purpose was to attract people to the cause, unusual dress might even end to alienate followers". She concluded that "dress was really a superficial form rather than the spiritual quality he was aiming for[37]."

The Kings, in their visit to India, reflected the ambivalence of some visitors, even today, They tended to be more affronted by the juxtaposition of poverty and opulence, of the India of Gandhi and the India of corrupt politicians, Coretta king wrote of their solution to this dilema. Though (much) disturbed us, because of our idealistic attitude toward India, we then asked ourselves, why should Indians be different from humanity elsewhere?"[38]

King's mind was open to influence, including Gandhian, throughout his short life. Most of these influences are beyond the scope of this lecture. One influence was the award of the Nobel Peace Price on King. This was vividly recalled by his associate and the current mayor of Atlanta, Georgia, Andrew Young. Mr. Young observed : "The difference that I saw (in King) over this was that he changed from the kind of person who was resisting leadership and trying to avoid the burdens of responsibility for the movement to a person who almost went to the other extreme and felt totally responsible and burdened by the movement,' An interviewer. Dr. David J. Garrow, then asked young, when the difference in King first became visible. young answered : Around the time of the Nobel Prize." (39)

8. EARLY PUBLICATIONS

We come to the second section of this lecture and to the substantive part of Martin Luther King's understanding to non violent resistance, his Gandhianism or Gandhism. In some instances, King's interpretation was a carbon copy of Gandhi's philosophy; in other instances it was an adaptation based on King's own tradition and experiences including his Christianity.

As we have seen there were multiple sources of King's Gandhism. Three major ones emerge. First was King's Christian concept of love, In 1960 King wrote; "I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence was one of the most potent weapons available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom". In a sentence "Christ furnished the spirit and motivation while Gandhi furnished the method"[40].

The second major source of King's Gandhism was his leadership of the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-56. King also wrote in 1960: "The experience in Montgomery did more to clarify my thinking on the question of nonviolence than all the books that I had read". (41) Yet King admitted that, as he read Gandhi's works, he ":became deeply fascinated by the campaigns of non violent resistance"[42]

The final major source of King's Gandhism was his visit to India: "The trip had a great impact on me personally and left me even more convinced of the power of nonviolence".[43]

The Montgomery Bus Boycott emerged late in 1955 unanticipated in Montgomery and in the life and leadership of King. Once King agreed to become President of the Montgomery Improvement Association, he was overwhelmed with the demands of this position as well as cointinuing his pastorship of the large Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Not only were King and other leaders improving their strategy and tactics, but they had to articulate their approach several times a week to the Negroes of Montgomery at the evening or rallies. King was also urgad to put more systematically into the words his experiences and strategy. which only belatedly he and others realized had distinct Gandhian overtones.

Two small pacifist magazines were completed by the words from King. One was *"Liberation"*, sponsored by a coalition of radical pacifists including A.J. Muste. The other was Fellowship, the organ of the U.S. branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (F.O.R.). The first articles King ever published appeared in the April 1956, issue of Libeartion.

Bayard Rusqtin who was connected with Liberation, sent King's a first draft of an article, asking that it be was to published in King's name after the latter made the essay his own. King agreed and hardly made any altertions". (44) "Our Struggle: appeared in *Liberation*. (45) The second article by King was published in the May issue of Fellowship. (46) Glenn Smiley admitted'y wrote the first draft of "Walk for freefom[47]". Both are historic documents which demonstrate how far by the spring of 1956 barely six months - King had already absorbed Gandhism.

King did not mention Gandhi even once in these first two articles published at the begining of his public carrier. In December 1956, King addressed an Institute on Nonviolence and Social Change held in Montgomery. This long address also did not mention Gandhi by name, although Gandhian ideas were given in several sections[48]. However, the next month King went to Atlanta to address what became the founding meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In his speech, King did refer to Gandhi. The printed version of this address in the Christian Century magazine may be the first time that the Indian leader was mentioned by name in King's writings. King wrote "The alternative to violence is nonviolent resistance. This method was made famous in our generation by Mohandas K. Gandhi, who used it to free India from the domination of the British empire" [49].

After the successful conclusion of the bus boycott in December 1956. King committed himself to write his first book - However, he did not begin writing for a year, not until after Christian 1957. He fitted the writing into his far flung speaking engagements as he quickly becoming a national figure, it was not easy for King to write the book. He had some help nearby especially

Prof. Lawrence D. Reddick of Montgomery. Also in New York Bayard Rustin and a white adviser Stanley D. Levison were returning corrected draft chapters[50]. Also King borrowed generously. and sometimes without attribution, from two volumes he studied earlier at Crozer : Paul Ramsey' ***Basic Christian Ethics***[51] and Anders Nygren's *Agape and Eros*[52]

It was not until May 1958 that King finished writing dated the preface to Stride Toward Freedom : ***The Montgomery Story*** The volume was published later that year by Harper and Brothers[53]

Indeed, it was during an apperance in Harlem in mid September 1968 to sign and sell this book when King was stabbed, hospitalized, and almost died.

9. SIX BASIC ASPECTS

Gandhi is mentioned in several places in *Strive Toward Freedom*. After discussing the evolution of his own thought, King in the chapter on "Pilgrimage to Nonviolence" lists six 'basic aspects of the philosophy", It may be productive to examine these six "aspects" and compare them with some of Gandhi's writings to ascertian what King and his collaborators included in this early stage of King's public career.

First, nonviolent resistance is 'not a method for cowards'. He called the method "passive physically but stroagly active spiritually. "It is not passive nonresistance to evil; it is active nonviolent resistance to evil[54]

Gandhi made similar comments. Indeed, King declared that Gandhi often said that if cowardice is the only alternative to violence. It is better to fight[55].

Else-where Gandhi said that "we shall have to give up even verbal violence and learn dignified ways of dealing with out opponents."[56].

Second nonviolent resistance "does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and under standing. The end is not boycott or noncooperation, but redemprion and reconciliation. King felt aftermath is the "creation" of the beloved community, not "trahic bitterness".[57]

Gandhi also had similar themes : "Whilst we may attack measures and systems, we may not, must not attack men imperfect ourselves, we must be tender toward others and be slow to impute motives"[58]

Coretta King in the introduction of *The Trimpah of Conscience* asked that her husband be remembered" as a man who refused to lose faith in the ultimate redemption of mankind."[59]

Third, nonviolent resistance is directed against "forces of evil rather than against persons who happen to be doing the evil." As king told the people of Montgomery, we are out to. defeat injuctice and not white persons who may be unjust.[60]

Gandhi asserted "A Satyagrahi always prepared for but does not anticipate repression. He imputes on evil in his opponent.

Fourth, nonviolent resistance includes the "willingness to accept suffering without retaliation. "The votary of nonviolence is willing to accept violence if necessary, "but never to inflict it'. He does not seek to avoid jail, not enters it "as a bridgeroom enters the bride's '[62]

King quoted Gandhi as declaring: "Rivers of may have to flow before we gain our freedom, but it must be our blood", 63 Gandhi wrote in *Young India* that "the secret of non-violence lies in our realizing that it is through suffering that we are to attain our goal" 64 In 1927 Gandhi remarked that "Hate the sin and not the sinner' is a prepect which, though easy enough to understand, is rarely practised and that is why the position of hatred spreads in the world.[56]

Fifth, nonviolent resistance not only avoids external physical violence but also "Internal violence of spirit, "The votive refuses to shoot his opponent and he refused to hate. One must not succumb to the temptation of "becoming bitter or indulging in hate campaines". Here King discusses at some length the ethics of love, using the concept of love called a gape or "love in action" 66. King once told Jesse Jackson, the Black who has since gained prominence on the U.S. political scene, "Jesee you have on love"[67]

Gandhi likewise declared that "nonviolence begins and ends by turning the search light inward[68]". Elsewhere Gandhi said that 'nonviolent action cannot be sustained unless it goes hand in hand with nonviolence in thought.[69]

The sixth and last point King discussed was non-violent resistance that is based on the conviction that "the universe is on the side of justice". The resister "knows that in his struggle for justice he has cosmic companionship. "King wrote "Whether we call it an unconscious process, an Impersonal Brahman, or a personal being of matchless power and infinite love, there is a creative force in this universe that works to bring the disconnected aspect of reality into a harmonious whole."[70]

Gandhi declared in Young India that "my noncooperation has its roots not in hatred but in love."[71]

The six principles hardly constitute a deinitive delineation of nonviolent resistance. Yet it is the way by 1958 that King and his close associates viewed some of the elements of this complex evolving strategy.

10. ADDITIONAL INSIGHTS

Between 1958, when king wrote Strive Toward Freedom and 1968, when he was assassinated, he acquired many additional insights about nonviolent resistance. We can isolate six additional categories which merit discussion. Including quotations from both King and Gandhi.

1. Principled Approach was a Already in 1958, King wrote that "admittedly, nonviolence in the trust sense is not a strategy that one uses simply because it is expedient at the moment; nonviolence is ultimately a way of life that men live by because of the sheer morality of its claim" However he admitted that even the willingness to use nonviolence as a technique is a step forward[72]. He called nonviolence "a commitment to a way of life.[73]"

Prof. Kenneth B.Clark interviewed King at levength in 1963 and commented that, for King, "the philosophical is not just as strategy it is a truth, it is his assertion of the philosophical positiuon that one cannot differentiate means from ends".[74]

King also told Clark that " there are many people who will accept nonviolence as the most practical technique to be used in a social situation, but they would not go to the the point of seeing the necessity of accepting nonviolence as a way of life", King added that, "I accept both".

Thus, for King, Gandhism was not a tool that appeared to work, but a principled approach - whether it worked immediately or not.

King did not deviate from this principle during his lifetime. If anything, the longer he lived, the more wedded he was not violent. In an article in *Look* magazine published shortly after his death. King wrote; "I' m committed to nonviolence absolutely'. He said that" he planned to stand by nonviolence because I have found it to be a philosophy of life that regulates not only my dealing in the struggle for racial justice but also my dealings with people, with by own self. I will still be faithful to nonviolence"[76]

This principled approach is often reflected in Gandhi's discussion of means and ends. In 1924, Gandhi observed; "They say 'means are after all means'. I would say, means are after everything. As the means so the end. There is no wall of separation between means and end".[77]

when King first became head of the Montgomery Improvement Association he called the evolving method the use of Christian love. But soon he used the term, "passive resistance". In that first ***"Liberation"*** magazine article King wrote that "we in Montgomery believe thaty the only way to press on is by adopting the philosopy and practise of nonviolence resistance.[78]"

King, as Gandhi, had to correct during his whole lifetime the common conception that passive resistance was passive. In 1958 King wrote : "The nonviolent resister is not aggressive physically toward his opponent, but his mind and emotions are always active constantly seeking to persuade the opponent that he is mistaken"[79]

King in an interview with Prof. Clark declared; We are not engaged in a struggle that means we sit down and do nothing; that there is a great deal of difference between non resistance to evil and nonviolent resistance. Nonresistance leaves you in a state of stagnant passivity and deadly complacency where nonviolent resistance means that you do resist in a very strong and determined manner...Some of the 'critics fail to realize that we are talking about something very strong and they confuse nonresistance with nonviolent resistance"[80]

If King believed in active resistance, he felt that violent resistance was both wrong and unproductive. While it "brings about momentary results". violence is both impractical and immoral. It is immoral because 'It seeks to humiliate the opponent rather than win his understanding', to annihiliate rather than to convert. [81]

In his Nobel address King approaritly gave a long indictment of violence : In spite of temporary victories, violence never brings permanent peace. It solves no social problem : it merely creates new and more complicated ones. Violence is impractical because it is a descending

spiral ending in destruction for all. it is immoral because it seeks to humiliate the opponent rather than win his understanding; it seeks to hermiliate rather than convert.Violence is immoral because it thrives of hatred rather than love. It destrovs community and makes brotherhood impossible. it leaves society in monologue rather than dialogue. Violence ends up defeating itself. It creates bitterness in the survivors and brutality in the destroyers.[82]

Gandhi had similar problems. He discovered that the term passive resistance, was ultimately unsuitable : "I found that term 'passive resistance' was too narrowly constructed that it was supposed to be a weapon of the weak... It was clear that a new word must be coined by the Indians to designate their struggle. Mahanlal Gandhi changed coined the word 'Satyagraha'. In order to make it clearer the word to 'Satyagraha' which has since become current"-[83]

Imprisonment A consequence of nonviolent resistance can be imprisement. In his first campaign. in Montgomery King and his colleagues came to know the redemptive use of imprisonment. King told the twice-weekly rallies in Montgomery: "It is an honor to face jail for a just cause[84]". Nonviolence may indeed mean, according to King, "going to jail". The resister "must be willing to fill the jail house".[85] King and his colleagues were constanly thrown in prison - King more than a dozen times during his short public career.

Gandhi in 1959 declared that if one committed an offence, he must plead guilty and suffer the penalty. If he has not and is still found guilty, imprisonment for him is no disgrace. And if he is a satyagrahi he has no business to fear the hardships of jail life[86]". Also Gandhi said that a satyagrahi goes to prison, not to embarrass the autnorities but to convert them by demonstrating to them his innocence[87]".

Noncooperation : In 1858 King wrote that 'we are simply saying to the white community "we can no longer lend our cooperation to an evil system'. He added that "he who accepts evil without protesting against it is realy cooperating with it". A righteous man, King insisted , "has no alternative but to refuse to cooperate with an evil system[84]". King in his Nobel address declared that nonviolence "meant noncooperation with customs and laws which are institutional aspects of a regime of discrimination and enslavement [89]". He also said at that time that "we will not obey unjust laws or submit to unjust practices[90]."

Gandhi in 1921 declared; "The primary motive of noncooperation is self-purification by withdrawing cooperation from an unrighteous and unrepentant government. The secondary object is to rid ourselves of the feeling of helplessness by being independent of all government control or supervision. i.e to govern ourselves in all possible affairs' [91]. Gandhi also affirmed : "My noncooperation is with methods and systems, never with man".[92]

Non-racialism: King went out of his way to Insist that his goal was freedom for all human beings, not only of Negroes. Non-Violence was universal, nonracial, even in the days of Black Power. In May 1956 King wrote "when we speak of love, we speak of understanding, goodwill toward *all* men". He added that "we see that the real tension is not between the Negro citizens and the white citizens of Montgomery, but it is a condlict between justice and injustice". Thus the "victory will not be merely for the Negro citizens and a defeat for the White citizens'.[93]. In 1958

King wrote that a successful nonviolent movement would demonstarte to the White community that if such a movement attained a degree of strength, it would use its power creatively and not vengefully"[94]. In his 1964 Nobel address, King emphasized that his American movement did "not seek to liberate Negroes at the expense of the humiliation and enslavement of Whites". It sought' no victory over anyone"[95]. In and article published after King's death. and in another context. Kin declared that we have not given up on integration, we still believe in black and white together.[96]"

Gandhi also did not eliminate the English people from this universe. In 1909 in South Africa, Gandhi declared that "I bear no enmity towards the English but I do towards theri civilization[97]. Also in 1921 Gandhi said that "I did not consider Englishmen nor do I now consider them to be as capable of high motives and actions as any other body of men and equally capable of making mistakes[98].

Internationalizetion : King believed in the utility of non-violent resistance to acheive democracy in the U.S.A. He also believed that this method could be used worldwide, to solve problems in other nations and among nations. King in his book, The *Trumpet of Conscience* asked "Can a nonviolent, direct action movement find application on the international level, to confront economic and political problems";, His answer was positive : "I believe it can". He revealed that "It is clear to me that the next stage of the movement is to become international.' Referring to Latin America, he predicted that "one of the most powerful expressions of nonviolence may come out of that international coalition of socially aware forces operating on paid govermental framework." After speaking about the need for international non-violent action aganist apartheid, he felt that, it is obvious that nonviolent movements for social change must interntionalize. because of the interlocking nature of the problems they all face, and because otherwise those problems will breed war". He added that "we have hardly begun to build the skills and strategy or even the commitement to plan our movements for social justice". "Facing the number of problems in the world then. 1967, and more that 21 years later, King commented "we live each day in the verge of nuclear co-annihiliation; ih this world, nonviolence is no longer an option for intellectual analys it is an imperative for action'[99]

Gandhi always considered nonviolent resistance to be universal. He himself used it both in South Africa and India. He suggested that "its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility."[100]. Elsewhere Gandhi is quoted as declaring that "a solider of peace unlike the one of the sword has to give all his spare time to the promotion of peace alike in war time as in peace time"[101] Gandhi was suggesting that nonviolence resistance goes beyond national borders.

11. CONCLUSION

If King appreciated much of Gandhi's nonviolent philosophy, or adopted or modified it, he did not accept everything from Gandhi. John J. Ansbro in study, *The Making of a Mind,* suggested three ways in which King was unlike Gandhi. The Indian leader was more intellectually flexible that King and would alter his assumprions. strategies and goals. Gandhi also emphasized self-help more than King who in the American context wanted to rely increassingly on the federal government for economic aid to Negroes. Also Gandhi's emphasis on the role of asceticism in the practice of nonviolence was not accepted by King.[102].

What was King's estimate of Gandhi?. An early estimated of Gandhi is found in King's first book, published in 1958. King wrote : Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale. Love for Gandhi was a potent instrument for social and collective transformation. It was in this Gandhian emphasis on love and nonviolence that I discovered the method for social reform that I have been seeking for so many months. The intellectual and moral satisfaction that I failed to gain from, the uitilitarianism of Bentham and Mill, the revolutionory methods of Marx and Lenin, the social contracts of Hobbes, the back to nature optimism of Rousseau, and the super-man philosophy of Nietzsche, I found in the nonviolent resistance philosophy of Gandhi, I came to feel that this was the only morrally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom"[103]

After visiting India, King called Gandhi "one of the half dozen greatest men in world history[104]"

He did not elucidate further on his criterie for thus judgement. Indeed, while King mentioned the Indian people and non-violence in his Nobel accptance address he did not specificlly mention Gandhi (The Indian leader never received the Nobel Peace Prize; also prime Minister Nehru have received the honour). Kings admiration of Gandhi was not limited to Gandhi's "discovery" of nonviolent resistance. In a sermon delivered to his Montgomery congregation, immediately after visiting India. King enumerated three "commendable" characteristics of Gandhi's. He had a great capacity for self-criticism; his avoidance of meterial possessions was almost total; and he had "absolute self-discipline and thus there was "on gulf between the private and the public[105]. By implication. King admitted that Gandhi bettered him on all three counts.

We have reached the end of our present exploration of the Gandhian sources of thought and action of Martin Luther King in 1968, shortly after king was assassinated and shortly before the centenary of the birth of Gandhi, this lecturer made a similar survey for a volume edited by the former President of India' Dr.S. Radhakrishnan.[106]. The present study is surely not the last; one on the subject, but only the latest' Now that the collected works of king are being compiled - but not all 12 volumes will be complete 'until after the year 2000 - further studies will be made by another generation. These persons will not have known personally either Gandhi or King, They will however, have better historical tools for reserach, including the abridged collected works of both world leaders.

Even with existing materials. one can conclude this present study with the obvious but confident conclusion that Gandhi influenced King mightly and rightly. King was, however. very much is own man and many other individuals and movements understandably entered King's thoughts and actions. We are all a product of our intellectual environment, whether we admit it or not-and to his credit, King freely admitted his dependence on Gandhi, King chose and auspucious time to be born two decades before the death of Gandhi. Never having travelled out of North America until the age of 21, King could not have known Gandhi personally' yet he grew up in an era when what Gandhi brought was more widely appreciated outside India perhaps than anytime before or since.

Let Martin Luther King have the final words of this lecture taken from the last paragraph of *Stride Toward Freedom*:" It may even by possible for the Negro thorugh adherence to nonviolence,

so to challenge the nations of the world that they will seriously seek an alternative to war and destruction - Today the choice is no longer between violence and nonviolence. It is either nonviolence or nonexistence. The Negro may be God's appeal to this age, an age drifting rapidly to its doom. The external appeal takes the form of a warning. All who take the sword will perish by the sword[107]

FOOT NOTES

1. "Interview to American Negro Delegation" *The Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi* Vol LXII (Oct. 1, 1935-May 3, 1936) New Delhi : Government of India, 507 pp.pp 198-202.

2. This section is taken from the author's earlier essay, Mohandas karamchand Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. "In *Mahatma Gandhi 100 Years, ed* by S. Radhakrishnan New Delhi Gandhi peace Foundation, 401 pp. 1968 pp, 129-44.

3. One example in Martin, Luther King Jr. : The Making of a Mind by John J. Ansbro. Maryknoll. Orbis. 352pp. 1982.

4. *Search for the Beloved Community : The Thinking of Martin Luther. King Jr.* by Kenneth L. Smith and Ira G. zapp. Jr. Lanham, University Press of America. 159pp., 1986.

5. *Bearing The Cross : Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.* by David J. Garrow. New York : William Morrow. 800pp. 1986 p. 43.

6. *Ibid*, p, 47.

7. *Stride Toward Freedom,* by Marting Luther King. Jr. New York; Harper 230 pp. 1958. p. 95.

8. Richard B.Gregg first published. *The Power of Nonviolence in* 1935. King read the 1944 edition. For the 1959 edition published by Schocken, King wrote and appreciative foreward.

9. Smith and Zapp *Op Cit.*, p. 48.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 96

11. *Martin Luther King, Jr. His Life. Martyrdom and Meaning for the world*, by William Robert Miller, New York : Weybright and Talley. 319 p.p. 1968.pp. 18-20.

12. Garrow.*Op. Cit.,* p. 638.

13. *Selections from E Stanley Jones*, ed. by Eunica and James Mathews. Nashville : Abingdon. 255pp. 1972. P. 15,

14. King. *Op. Cit.*, p. 85

15. *Let The Trumpet Sound : The Life of Martin Luther King Jr.* by Stephen B. Oates. New American Library. 562. pp. 1982. pp1982. pp 73-74.

16. *Ibid.,* p. 493. Sell also Garrow Op. Cit., p., 635

17. King. 1968. *Op. Cit.*, p. 85.

18. There are several versions of the exact parentage of CORE See *Lay Bare The Heart,* by James farmer. New York : New American Library. 370pp. 1985. p. 104. Also see *CORE : A History of the Civil Rights Movement , by* August Meier and Elliott Rudwick New York : Oxford. pp. 1973. In either case the parents are staff members of the F.O.R., the time was 1941-42 and the place was University of Chicago.

19. Garrow. Op. Cit. p 60

20. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 66

23. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

"Our Struggle." by Marting Luther King, *Jr. Liberation,* April 1956. pp. 3-6.

26. Garrow, *Op. Cit.*, p 74

27. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

30. *King : A Critical Biography* by David L. Lewis, New York, Praeger, 460 pp. 1970. p. 96.

31. *With The Kings In India*, New Delhi : Gandhi National Memorial Fund, pp. 1959.

32. Otis *Op. Cit.,* p. 137.

33. "My Tripe to the Land of Gandhi," by Martin Luther King. Jr. *Ebony.* July 1959. pp. 84-92. Reprinted in *A Testament of Hope : The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.* ed., by James W. Washington, San Francisco :

Harper & Row. 676 pp. 1986. pp. 23-30. (Hereinafter King 1959.)

34. *My Life With Martin Luther King,* Jr. by Coretta Scott King New York; Rinehart and Winsion 37, pp. 1969 P. 176

35. Miller, *Op. Cit.*p.80.

36. King, 1959, *Op. Cit.* p. 178,

37. *Ibid.*, p. 178

38. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

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41. *Ibid.*, Washington, p. 38,

42. *Ibid.*, Washington, p. 38,

43. *Ibid.*, Washington, p. 39,

44. Garrow *Op.Cit.*, p. 73

45. Our Struggle, by Martin Luther King, Jr. *Liberation.* April 1956. Reprinted in Washing-:on, ***Op.Cit., pp. 75-81. (Here inafte King, 1956a).***

46. Walk for Freedom" by Martin Luther King, Jr. *Fellowship*, May 1956. Reprinted by ***Wash-'ngton Op. Cit., pp. 82-84. (Here inafter King, 1965 b)***

47. Washington. *Op. Cit.*, p. 82.

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50. Garrow. *Op. Cit.*, p. 05.

51. *Basic Christian Ethics,* by Paul. Ramsey New York : Charles Scribner, 1950.

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53. *Stride Toward Freedom : The Montgomery Story* by Martin Luther King, Jr. New York : ***Garper 230pp. 1958.***

54. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 102

56. *Young India,* November 10., 1919.

57. King, 1958, Op. Cit., 102

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66. King, 1958, *Op.Cit.,* pp.103-04

67. Garrow, *Op. Cit* p. 585.

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72. King 1958, *Op,Cit,* p. 89.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

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75. **Ibid.** p. 334.

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77. *Young India,* July 17 1924.

78. King 1956a, Op.Cit. Reprinted in Washington, *Qp.Cit.*, p. 80.

79. Reprinted in *Washihgton Op.Cit.p.*87.

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84. *King,* 1956a, *Op.Cit.'* Reprinted in *Washington*, *Op.Cit.*p.76.

85. *King,* 1958. *Op.Cit.* p. 216.

86. *Young India,* December 3, 1919.

87. *Harijan,* November 5, 1958

88. *King,* 1958, *Op.Cit.* p. 51.

89. *King,* 1964, p. 337.

90. *Ibid.,* p. 338

91. *Young India* April 6, 1921.

92. Tikekar, *Op. Cit.,* p. 48.

93. *King,* 1956a, *Op.Cit.,* Reprinted In Washington, *Op.Cit.* pp 82-84.

94. *King,* 1958, *Op.Cit.,* p. 110

95. *King,* 1964, p. 337

96. *King,* 1968, pp. 23-25. Reprinted in Washinton. Op.Cit., pp. 64-72, P. 70. 1938 Rev. Ed., Ahmedabad: Navajavan.

97. *Hind Swaraj*, by Mohandas K. Gandhi, 1909. p. 76 of the 1946 edition.

98. *Young India*, November 17, 1921.

99. *King,* 1967, Reprinted in Washington, Op.Cit., pp. 652, 5, 3

100. *Harijan*, July 21, 1940.

101. Tikekar, *Op. Cit.,* p. 71.

102. Ansbro op *Cit., pp.* 140-46.

103. King, 1958, *Op. Cit.,* p. 97.

104. Gandhi, 1959 *Op. Cit.* Reprinted in Washington, Op.Cit. pp. 23-30.p. 26.

105. Garrow, Op. Cit. p. 114.

106. "Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., by Homer A, Jack. In *Mahatma Gandhi* 100 Years, edited by S. Radhakrishnan, New Delhi, Gandhi Peace Foundation 401 pp. 1968 pp. 129-44.

107. King, 1958, *Op. Cit.* p. 224.

APPENDIX

NOBEL PRIZE ACCEPTANCE SPEECH *

Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness, Mr. President, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

I accept the Nobel Prize for Peace at a moment when twenty two million Negroes of the United States of America are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice. I accept this award on behalf of a civil rights movement which is moving with determination and a majestic scorn for risk and danger to establish a reign of freedom and a rule of justice. I am mindful that only yesterday in Birmingham Albama, our children, crying out for brotherhood, were answered with fire horses, snarling dogs, and even death. I am mindful that only yesterday more than forty houses of worship in the State of Mississippi alone were bombed or burned because they offered a sanctury to those who would not accept segregation. I am mindful that debilitating and grinding poverty afflicts my people and chains them to the lowest ring of the economic ladder.

Therefore, I must ask why this prize is award to a movement which is beleaguered and committed to unrelenting struggle : to a movement which has not won the very peace and brotherhood which is the essence of the Nobel Prize.

After contempaltion, I conclude that this award which I receive on behalf of that movement is a profound recognition that non-violence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our time - the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression. Civilisation and violence are antitetical concepts. Negroes of the United States, *following the people of India* have demonstrated that nonviolence is not sterile passivity, but a powerful moral force which makes for social transformation. Sooner or later, all the people of the world will have to discover a way to live together in peace, and thereby transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. If this is to be achieved, man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation. The foundation of such a method is love.

The tortuous road which has led from Montgomery, Alabama, to Oslo bears witness of this truth. This is a road which millions of Negroes are travelling to find a new sense of dignity. This same road has opened for all Americans a new era of progress and hope. It has led to a new Civil Rights Bill, and it will, I am convinced, be widened and lengthened into a super highway of justice as Negro and White men in increasing numbers create alliances to overcome their common problem.

I accept this award today with an abiding faith in America and an audacious faith in the future of mankind. I refuse to accept the idea that the "isness" of man's present nature makes him morally incapable of reaching up for the eternal "oughtness" that forever confronts him. I refuse to accept the Idea that man is mere flostam and jetsam in a river of life, unable to influence the unfolding events which surround him. I refuse to accept the view that mankind is so tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war that the bright daybreak of peace and brother hood can never become a reality.

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* Acceptance statement by Martin Luther King. Jr. Nobel Peace prize Ceremony Thursday, December 10, 1964, Aula of the University, Oslo, Norway.

I refuse to accept the cynical notion that nation after nation must spiral down a militaristic stairway into the hall of thermonuclear destruction. I believe that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have final word in reality. This is why right temporarily defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. I believe that even amid today's motor bursts and whining bullets, there is still hope for a brighter tomorrow I believe that wounded justice lying proshalt on the blood - flowing streets of our nation can be be lifted from this dust of shame to reign supreme among the children of men. I have the audacity to believe that people everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity, equality and freedom for their spirits. I believe that what Self-centred men have torn dournmen other - centred can build up. I still believe that one day manking will bow before the altars of God and be crowned triumphant over war and bloodshed, and non - violent redemptive good will be proclaimed the rule of the land. "And the lion and the lamb shall lie down together and every man shall sit under his own wine and fig tree and none shall be afraid", I still believe that we *Shall* overcome !

This faith can give us courage to face the uncertainties of the future. It will give our tired feet new stength as we continue our forward stride toward the city of freedom. When our days become dreary with low-hovering clouds and our nights become darker than a thousand midnights. We will know that we are living in the creative turmoil of a genuine civilisation struggling to be born.

Today I come to also as a trustee, inspired with renewal dedication to humanity. I accept this prize on behalf of all men who love peace and brotherhood. I say I come as a trustee, for in the depths of my heart. I am aware that prize is much more than an honour to me personally.

Every tifme I take a flight I am always mindful of the many people who make a successful journey possible-the known pilots and the unknown ground crew.

So you honour the dedicated pilots of our struggle who have sat at the controls as the Freedom movement soared into orbit you honour once again. Chief Luthuli of South Africa, Whose struggle with and for his people are still met with the most brutal expression of man's inhumanity to man. You honour the ground crew without whose labour and sacrifices the jet flight to freedom could never have left the earth. Most of these people will never make the headlines and their names will not appear in Who's who Yet when years have rolled past and when the blazing light of truth is focused on this marvellous age in which we livemen and women willknow and children will be taught that we have a finer land a better people, a more noble ciilisation-because these humble children of God were willing to suffer for righteousness sake.

I think Alfred Nobel would know what I mean when I say that I accept this award in the spirit of a curator of some precious heirloom which he holds in trust for its true ownersale these to whom beauty is truth and truth is beauty-in whose eyes the beauty of genuine brotherhood and peace is more precious then diamonds of silver or gold.

Exercise

1. Compare Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King
2. Trace the Civil Rights Movement of USA.
3. Examine Martin Luther King as a Satyagrahi.

Filed visit / work and Application

1. Undertake a pilgrimage to places connected with Martin Luther King.
2. Read the writings by Martin Luther King as well as writings on him.
3. Give your own reactions / responses to reading on Martin Luther King.

Lesson - 17

CONTEMPORARY EXAMPLES OF NONVIOLENT ACTION : CASE STUDIES

(ii) STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

Long-term struggle over most of the twentieth century by members of the nonwhite majority to overcome institutionalized racial segregation and discrimination by white minority rule. Nonviolent action was one of the important forces contributing to the end of the apartheid regime in 1994. Nonviolent militant opposition to South Africa racial oppression took three principal forms: civil disobidience, electoral and other kinds of boycotts and demonstrative labour strikes.

Civil Disobedience

Before 1960, the main civil disobedience campaigns were mounted by organizations representing Indian and Chinese minorities In Transvaal and Natal between 1906 and 1914; by African women in the Orange Free State in 1913; by African organizations on the Witwaterstand just after the First World War; by the Communist Party in 1930, by Indian organizations again, between 1946 and 1948; by the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies during the "Defiance Campaign" of 1952-53; between 1956 and 1958 by women's organizations and in 1960 by the Pan Africanist Congress. After 1960, civil disobedience only reappeared in the repertoire of anti apartheid resistance. In 1984 with the beiginning of communal riot strikes in black "townships" that are just ending today.

More activist forms of politically motivated law-breaking peaked in 1989 after the launch of a second Defiace Campaign by the Mass Democratic Movement. This last major instance of South African civil disobediance was followed by the opening of nogotiations between the government and the African National Congress. By April 1994, when elections under universal suffrage ended minority rule, the main racist legislation had been repealed.

Before the 1980s, civil disobedience only occassionally assumed mass dimensions. The first protests were led by Mohandas Gandhi, a British-trained lawyer from India, a founder of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) in 1894 and of the Transvaal British. Indian Organization in 1903. Both these organizations represented a narrow social elite of merchants. Gandhi originally traveled to South Africa to conduct a commercial legal case against a Transvaal trader. His entry into politics was promoted by efforts in the Natal legislature to curtail Indian franchise and trading rights.

The fifteen thousand Indians in the Transvaal Republic of the, 1890s were excluded from citizenship and ownership of fixed properly. After the Anglo-Boer War the new British colonial administration tightened restrictions on Indian trading, residence and entry into the province. Transvaal Indians were mainly a commercial community. Whereas the majority of the 1,00,000 Indians in Natal were former indentured laborers or their descendants. From 1881, the Natal authorities ceased its former practice of making land grants to Indians on the expiry of their contracts and subjected them to an annual tax of three pounds sterling. Immigration legislation proposed in 1860 and enacted in 1907 was directed specifically at Travansal Indians and required a registra-

tion process that involved both a fee and fingerprinting. In India this practice was imposed only upon criminals.

In the years between the NIC's foundation and the Transvaal Immigration Restriction Act, the preferred tactics of petitions and delegations had demonstrably failed to discourage official discriminations against Indians. Between 1903 and 1906, Gandhi inspired by the swadeshi movement in Bengal, began to develop his strategy of passive resistance. In its fullest form, satyagraha ("truthfirmness") aimed to achieve the moral conversion of the opponent through the willing acceptance of punishment for non-threatening forms of illegal protest. Gandhi believed that ends were contained within scans; that violent action could not achieve social harmony.

Resistance to the new law began with a formal written petition (signed by 45 percent of the ten thousand adult Asian men in the Transvaal) and oath taking at a mass meeting held in Johannesburg in September 1906. Subsequently a delegation visited London. Civil disobedience began in July 1907 and initially took the form of traders inviting arrest by selling outside the designated Indian bazaars without licences. Upon conviction resisters refused the option of a fine and went to prison-200 of them by January 1908. Organisation of the volunteers and fund raising for the support of prisioners' families was undertaken mainly by the British Indian Association, though the Transvaal Chinese Association also played a role. Much of the funding came from India.

The campaign was interrupted for six months by negotiations between Gandhi and Prime Minister Jan Smitest. When these talks broke down organized resistance resumed. now mainly in the form of Public bonfires of registration certificates as well as illegal crossing of provincial boundaries. This latter offense was punished by departing the offenders, not just to Natal but sometimes to India. Where the campaign succeded in arousing considerable public support as well as pressure on the British government from the Indian colonial authorities. Gandhi's weekly newspaper, *Indian Opinion* also helped to publicize the campaign.

The resistance paused for a second time in 1911. When Smuts promised a revised immigration law that would provide Indians with legal treatment equal to that of other incoming groups. The government's failure to honour this and other promises, including repeal of the tax on indentured laborers, prompted Gandhi in September 1913 to repeat the call for resistance. This time it embraced Indian colliery workers and municipal labourers in the Natal towns of Newcastle and Dundee. Thweir strike spread spontaneously to forty thousand workers on the Natal sugar estates. By the end of the campaign, three thousand volunteers had served prison sentences, mainly in the Transvaal.

In 1914, the government repealed the indentured labour, tax and revised some of the regulations restricting Indian entry into the Transvaal. Polygamous Indian marriages were given official recognition, which allowed a significant number of dependents to join their husbands or fathers in south Africa. However, the Indian Relief Act of 1914 did not after the restrictions governing Indian trading in the Transvaal. The act did contain sufficient concessions to Gandhi's insistence that Indians should be afforded national legal equality for his disciples to claim a substantial victory at the start of the Mahatma's Indian political career. In the wake of his departure from South Africa, the militant organization he had helped to build withered.

Orange free State towns, confronted with labour shortages as a consequence of industrialization in the nearby Witwaterstand had from the 1890s forced black women as well as man to carry passes, documents that recorded their owner's employment history and tax receipts and that were used to govern their residence in municipal Africa"locations". Black men carried these documents in most parts of "white" South Africa, but outside the Free State women were at that stage exempt from pass legislation. In Bloemfontein, increasingly onerous regulations and controls in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War provoked an angry meeting on May 28, 1918 at which women resolved that they would refuse to carry passes.

After delegation was told by the mayor that he could not after the laws, women began tearing up their passes in front of the police station. Eighty were arrested, but they were released the following morning after six hundred glulating women led by a Mrs.Molisapoli, wrapped in a Union Jack, converged on the magistrate's office. Two weeks later, the attempted arrest of a woman without a pass was followed by a riot in which thirty-four women were apprehanded for stoning or biting the police. In court, they refused the option of fines and served two months in prison. Several of the women were the wives of local notables, their actions were to attract considerable sympathy and support from the leadership of the African National congress. This Congress, held in Bloemfontain the year before, had probably contributed to the original resolve of the protesters. For a while even local white public opinion seemed to side with the women, and this helped to restrain the police in their action against subsequent protests.

In the next few months the resistance spread to smaller towns. Participants began wearing ribbon rosettes in imitation of British suffragettes. whom the newspapers had informed them they resembled. The protests continued intermittently until the outbreak of the First World War, in August 1914, when, following the ANC's lead, the women agreed to end their protests. In June, draft legislation was tabled in parliament authorizing a change in the women's pass laws in response to a petition with five thousand signatures, but this was loved when war was declared, Instead, the women had to content themselves with the directives from the Department of Native Affairs to the Free State authorities to relax the application of pass regulations. It is likely, though, that the forcefulness and duration of the protests helped to persuade. South African governments until the 1950s of the wisdom of leaving most black. South African women outside the scope of the pass laws.

After the war, African mèn followed the example of their Free State sisters in Johannesburg In March 1919 when the African National Congress organized demonstrations against passes. Outside the pass office man shouted "Down with the passes". and "no violence" To the accompaniment of communal singing of "Rule Britannia" several hundred man surrendered their passes to the organizers, who subsequently dispatched "pickets" to collect a couple of thousand more farm workers in outlying districts. In the next month, the police made seven hundred arrests. The protest was accompanied by strikes and rioting after a mounted police charge on a demonstrating

crowd. On April 25, resisters attacked police escorting prisoners to jail. The pass laws remained in force, but simultaneous civil disobedience in pretorial won for Africans the right to walk on the city's gavements.

The next attempt to challenge the pass laws was led by the Communist Party in December 1930, responding to economic recession and a harshly segregationist Africaner Nationalist administration. The party. whose leadership was newly Africanized as a consequence of comintern prompting. called for pass burning on December 16, Dingaan's Day, under the slogan "Freedom or Death." Fewer than one thousand passess altogether were incinerated in Transvaal towns, but alarge crowd in Durban (is natal watched ten thousands passes burn before police marched in and stabbed to death local party heades Johannes Nkosi and then of his comrades. Etforts to prolong the campaign in the wake of this butchery led fierece political suppression in which two hundred Communists were banished from Durban. Genteel African National Congress leaders, their postar Jacobinism now a distant memory, condemned the protests. Africans could only to gain white respect if they acted in a moderate way. President - General Pixley Seme told his alarmed audience.

Indians threatened to resume civil disobedience in 1939 with the passage of new legislation aimed at limiting Indian landholding. They were dissuaded from doing so by Gandhi, who had been encouraged in his correspondence with Smuts to believe that there were good prospects for an "honourable settlement. "Yusuf Dadoo, a young Communist doctor from Krugerdorp and leader of the nationalist bloc" in the Transvaal Indian Congress, was at that time sufficiently impressed by Gandhi's teachings to accept his logic. "As you rightly say". he wrote, "our duty is to win our opponents with love and understanding."

During the war, the government susupended its efforts to curtail Indian property rights. and Indian radicals concentrated on building a strong labour movement in Durban factories and the Natal sugar estates. In 1946. the Asiatic Land tenure and Indian Representation Bill prohibitefd and land sales in Natal and Transvaal between Asians and non-Asians. The Natal and Transvaal Indian congresses began preparing for civil disobedience by training volunteer bands, publishing a newspaper Passive Resister, setting up local action committees, and organizing well attended fund raising meetings.

Resistance began in June. Groups of fifty volunteers would periodically set up on a plot of vacant municipal land in Durban and await arrest for breach of the tenure provisions of the new law. In two years, two thousand resisters participated. Of these, nearly half were factory workers, evidence of the trade union linkages that Indian political activities had fostered during the war. A small number of African, colored, and white sympathizers joined the protest. At the beginning of 1948, resistance was extended to illegal crossings of the Transvaal-Natal border. However, activity, had become very sporadic and the campaign was "indefintely suspended" after the electrical victory of the savagely anti-Indian Africaner Nations Party.

As in the earlier Indian campaing. the organizers directed cosiderable effort at erchoestrating external pressure on the South African government. Dadoo and Monty Naicker, president of the Natal Indian Congress. visited Gandhi in India and succeded in persuading the Indian government

to take up their cause at the United Nations. India also began a trade boycott of South Africa that caused an immediate shortage of hessian sacking In retaliation, white Transvaal grain farmers, unable to bag their crops, began a boycott of Indian trading stores. Despite dissension within Smuts's cabinet, the legislation remained In force until it was replaced in 1950 by the more severe Group Areas Act. Dadoo and Naicker had few illusions about the possibility of victory and, indeed, by 1946 Indian political leadership included very few satyagrahis. Their purpose in mounting passive resistance was primarily mobilizational. In this they were successful. NIC membership claimed to thirty-five thousand, and in 1947 the Indian Congress leaders joined A.B. Xuma of the ANC in signing the Doctor's Pact" committing their organizatios to future collaboration.

The increasing empathy between Indian and African political notable was not reflected by much solidarity on the ground between the communities. In 1949, recial censions indurban between Africans and Indians broke out in riots that 142 deaths. Indian participation in the 1952 Defance Campaign of the ANC was almost entirely at the leadership level. Although three Indians joined four ANC offficials in a Joint Planning Council, fewer than one hundred Indians served as voluenteers. Ostensibly,the campaign sought the abolition of "five unjust laws" that represented the first phase of the National party government's apartheid program. These laws elaborated urban segregation, imposed passes on African women, banned the Communist Party, removed mixed race coloreds from the common voter roll, and gave to rural chiefs new authoritarian powers to implement highly unpopular land conservation measures.

The Joint Planning Council appointed a "volunteer-in-chief," Nelson Mandela, and an Indian deputy, Ismael Cachalia, to lead three stages of civil disobedience - beginning in June with small bands of resisters in the main towns, broadening the movement to embrace smaller centres and larger groups, and then extending te movement to the country side. In the second and third phases the intention was to support passive resistance with general strikes. Action began in June 1952 with Mandela leading a group of senior ANC and Indian Congress members in a violat in of Johannesburg curfew regulations. Subsequent civil disobedience mainly targeted 'petty apartheid" regulations in railway stations and post offices as well as the rules governing entry into African locations.

Over eight thousand people were arrested in the definance campaign; nearly six thousand of them in the Eastern Cape, where ANC orgaization had historically been facilitated by relatively liberal local government, a concentration of educational institution. and the development of an especially strong trade union movement. In port Elizabeth, a one-day strike in November to protest curfews and a ban on meetings closed the docks and brought armord cars onto the streets. Thousands lost their jobs afterward. But protest was not just confined to workers. In the Eastern Cape nearly half the volunteers were women. In parts of the Ciskel reserve the campaign attracted peasant's support.

Reaching a peak in August, the movement lost impetus after violent riots in its two main centers, East London and port Elizabeth. In December, just before the campaign's end, a particularly well-publicized act of defiance took place in Germiston when forty volunteers entered the African township without the required permits. The group included seven whites and was led by Gandhi's son, Manilal, and Partrick Duncan, the son of a wartime governor-general. The seven

served prison sentences, the first white South Arficans to be convicted for civil disobedience. Despite some expressions of sympathy for African grievance in English-language newspapers (most of the defiance was reported very dismissively), within the white community the campaign elicited either hostility or indifference. In early 1953, the Criminal Law Amendment Act was passed. The new law prescribed a maximum prison term of three years with fines and whipping for "offenses committed by way of protest". Young volunteers has already been subjected to lashings in several towns. Most activists were unprepared for such severe punishment. For ANC politicians' their following now swollen to 120,000 civil disobedience no longer seemed a practical option.

African women thougth differently, however, Beginning in 1955, a series of protests aganist the extension of passes of women were organized by the Federation of South African Woman, an umbrella body to which the ANC's Women's League. various trade unions, and the left-wing white and colored organization were affiliated, Demonstrations began in October 1955 outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria, and a series of local protests in many smaller centres followed the travelling "mobile units" that issued the new passes. In Winburg, in the Free State, in March 1956, women recalled a local historical tradition and burned the passes that had just been distributed. The federation collected money for their defense but was counseled against outright law-breaking. Refusing to accept the passes was not illegal (they were not made compulsory for women until 1963), but burning them was. A second massive demonstration in Pretoria took place in August, at which twenty thousand women assembled outside the Union Buildings to triumphantly sing their anthem: "Strijdom you have tampered with the women, you have struck a rock." Unfortunately, prime Minister J.G. Strjdom was absent from his office that day.

The movement spread from the cities to the towns. In Johhnnesburg township branches of the Women's League persuaded large numbers of women to deliberately court arrest by taking part in meetings and marches in the city center, which were then prohibited. Twelve hundred women were charged under the Criminal Law Amendment. Act before an alarmed ANC leadership over ruled the federation and directed that the women should not break the law. In return, the ANC undertook to organize a national campaign against passes in general. Despite the ANC's strictures, wiomen's protest spread outside the boundaries of organized politics. In mid- 1959 anger about the passes and soil conservation regulations helped to generate a series of revolts led by women in the Natal countryside. Mostly, participants concertrated on destroying cattle dipping tanks, but they also set fire to sugar cane field and marched on police stations and magistrates's court. About twenty thousand women were involved in these events and nearly one thousand were arrested before the demoralizing effects of heavy fines and long prison sentences took their toll.

The ANC's plans to mount a nationwide offensive against the pass laws were preempted by the decision of a militant rival orgaization. the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), which urged its supporters in early 1960 to surrender themselves without passes outside police stations. Their intention was to trigger a series of insurgent protests that would culminate in an insurrectionary uprising and "Independence in uprising and Independence in 1963". Believing that rhetorical emphasis on African race pride was by itself sufficient to evoke a large following. the PAC did little systematic preparation. Its branches were concentrated around the steel-making center of

Vereeniging and in the African communities of Cape Town. in Sharpeville, outside Vereeniging, high rents, unemployment among school dropouts, and authoritarian administration generated angry discontent, outs, and authoritiarian administration generated angry discontent, particularly among young people. The ANC was weak in Sharpeville and PAC activists constructed a strong network. In Cape Town' the PAC built its base among squatters and migrant laborers, the principal targets of fiercely applied "influx control" intended to reduce to a minimum the African presence in the Western Cape.

On Monday, March 21, 1960, five thousand Sharpeville residents gathered outside the police station, their leaders demanding arrest. An increasingly nervous police detachment confronted the crowd for six hours before firing into it, killing 69 and wounding 186.

After the massacre a volatile mood prevailed. Responding to a strike call by the ANC, on March 28 teenagers invaded the streets of Soweto, burning public buildings, stoning commuters, and destroying the public radio system. The greatest drama occurred in Cape Town, where the PAC succeeded in mounting a "stay-at home" began on March 21. A series of demonstrations climaxed on March 30 in a procession of thirty thousand people intent on assembling outside parliament. Police authorities persuaded the young Pan Africanist, Philip Kgosana, to divert the marches toward police headquaters. Subsequently promised an interview with the minister of justice, Kgosana led his supporters home. Later, Kgosana was arrested and soldiers and police occupied the townships. On April 8, the government banned the PAC and the ANC.

For many, these events confirmed the volunerability of minority rule. On March 25, the government temporarily suspended the pass laws (they were back in force within a month). A cabinet minister was moved to announce that "the old book of South African history was closed". In eighteen months, there was a net capital outflow of 248 million bands and foreign exchange reserves were halved. On April 1, the forced Nations Security Council passed its first condemnation South Africa. A turining point had been reached, as Nelson Mandela observed. for the suppression of African political organization convinced their leaders that "it would be unrealistic.. to continue to preach peace and nonviolence". By the end of 1961, both the ANC and PAC were both committed to "armed struggle" aganist apartheid.

For the next two decades, anit-apartheid politicians made no efforts to organize civil disobedience. Its revival in the mid - 1980s was partly attributable to the relaxation of political controls that accompained government constitutional reforms. In an efforts to broaden the legitimacy of officially sanctioned politics, the government enacted separate parliamentary representation for the Indian and colored minorities and additional powers for elected African local authorities. Earlier reforms had conceded legal recognition to a strengthening black trade union movement in 1979 and an expansion of African secondary education as well as the abolition of mandatory teaching in Africans; the issue that had provoked a school student rebellion across the country in 1976.

In August 1983, a United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed. The UDF's leadership included many veteran ANC activists and increasingly it took on the authority of an internal surrogate for the exiled ANC. Federal in structure, his hierarchy of committees linked a nation , wide network of six hundred or so organizations. These included local "civic" associations (which had

recently mushroomed to townships in a series of struggles to win improvements in services), youth, and, school children's movements, trade unions, and in Natal and the Transvaal, resurrections of the Indian Congresses (which had never been formally banned). The UDF's proclamied purpose was to challange the constitutional and local government reforms. Wihtin a year of its foundation many of its affiliates were swept up in a tide of often violent insurrectionary opposition to the extremely corrupt local governments in African townships, sparked by heavy rent increases for public housing.

The rebellion began with rent strikes in the townships around Vereeniging. A march on municipal offices swiftly degenerated into rioting and the killing of the local mayor. Army occupation restored order, but the rebellion spread to other cities and with it the rent boycott, It became increasingly militarized in character as ANC guerrilla units established themselves in its more important centres. The rent strike remained one of the UDI;s more effective weapons, enduring through a state of emergency, which between 1986 and 1988 succeeded in halting most forms of milltant political oppostition. In 1986, despite mass evictions, fifty four communities were affected by the boycott, a total of more than half a million households.

By the end of 1988, the government's 'secrocrats" seemed to have succeeded in driving UDF activists off the streets. Popular resistance was expressed mainly through guerilla warfare, the continuation of the rent boycott, and almost universal disinclination in vote in local elections. In 1898, organized mass politics reasserted itself. A hunger strike of political detainees succeeded in persuading the minister of law and order to release nine hundred prisoners, including most of the high-level UDF leaders. These leaders joined forces with trade unionists in a "Mass Democratic Movement" (MDM). Their objective was to instigate a second "Defiance Campaign" and to challenge racial segregation in government - controlled facilities.

On August 4, processions of black defiers, outensibly seeking treatment, arrived at the doors of eight government "whites only" hospitals in the Transvaal and Natal. Warned in advance, doctors and nurses, with tacit consent of the authorities, admitted them. The campaign was pormoted through large meetings and huge marches, which despite their illegality were only occasionally suppressed by the authorities. Police did shoot into a crowd in Cape Town in September. Killing twelve, In retaliation, the MDM called for a national strike that was supported by three million workers, and on September 15, thrity-five thousand protesters took to the streets in Cape Town. The behaviour of the police In Cape Town was exceptional; on the whole government response was unprecedentedly gentely. The MDM was challenging the authorities over an issue on which the government was already willing to concede. In any case, economic degeration, military setbacks in Angola in 1987-1988, and a fiscal crisis had succeeded in convincing key National Party leaders that the costs of white racial supremacy were unacceptable.

Boycotts :

Boycotts became an important political tactic in black South African resistance only during the 1950s, though they were not new. For example, in 1922 women's *manyanos* (self-help organizations developed around church congregations) organized a remarkably cohesive boycott of rural trading stores in the Herschel district of the Eastern Cape on protest against high commodity prices. In 1944, in Brakpan on the East Rand, parents withdrew nine hundred children from the

mission school in protest against the Department of Native Affairs, which had ordered the dismissal of a popular teacher who belonged to the Communist Party. Proposals for electoral boycotts began in 1936 with the introduction of a separate voting roll and indirect parliamentary representation for Africans. Despite their earlier objections to these electoral arrangements, the leaders of a specially formed All African Convention stood for election in the new advisory Native Representative Council and endorsed white "native" parliamentary representatives.

During the 1950s, black organizations were divided over the merits of electoral boycotts. The ANC ws committed to them by its 1949 program of Action. but in fact, through the decade ANC candidates contested township "Adbisory Board" elections while its white allies in the Communist party and the Congress of Democrats attempted to mobilize colored common-roll voters and African native representative voters to secure seats in parliament. In the Western Cape the Non-European Unity Movement enjoyed a strong following among colored teachers for its advocacy of electoral boycott but made little impact upon a mainly working class colored electorate. which regularly returned conservative white politicians to parliament.

In a rare instance of political accord, the Trotskyite Unity Movement collaborated with the Communist Party in mounting a train boycott to protest the introduction of railway apartheid in Cape Town in 1948. Three hundred volunteers sat themselves in white compartment that first day of the new regulations, but slortly afterwards, the Train Apartheid Resistance Committee broke apart amid accusations and counter accusations of cowardice and advent arison. The communist Party abandmed nonviolent direct-action and successfully opposed the regulations in court, compelling the government to pass new laws in 1950.

The ANC was involved in two kinds of anti-apartheid boycott in the 1950s, In 1955, it tried to counter the introduction of a demeaning syllabus of "Bamu Education" in primary schools by mounting a class boycott. The organization's initial resolve, however was eroded by the reluctance of many Congress leaders to withdraw their own children from school. In the end, the boycott was launched and sustained in the two areas in which ANC organization was strongest and most proletarian in social ethos, Port, Elizabeth and the East Rannd. In these places, 12,500 children stayed out of school for up to six months, attending instead special schools run by the Congress's African Education Movement. Eventually, the children returned to official classes, but in the context of the times this was an impressive effort.

Consumer boycotts, which had hitherto been directed at particular enterprises to bring down prices or support industrial actions. began in 1959 to assume a more politicized dimension with an ANC campaign to "Boycott Nationalist Products." The boycott achieved some improvements in the treatment of workers in vineyards and potato farms, and it also helped to inspire the opening of an international campaign of economic sanctions initiated in London the same year by Christian Action and the Africa Bureau. Adding impetus to the economic boycott movement was a series of bus boycotts; twenty-three of these boycotts were reported in the press between 1948 and 1961. Most of these boycotts were provoked by fare increases, but they often became invested with broader political concerns as ANC activists moved into their leadership committees.

In the 1950s, however boycott of any type by Africans could make only a limited impact, except in those services or enterprises in which Africans dominated consumption. Early apartheid

governments, for example, generally were indifferent as to whether Africans chose to vote in elections, and in 1959 even the indirect 1936 franchise arrangements were abolished. As far an education was concerned, most parents tended to take the view that even "Bantu" education was better for their children that no education at all, and from 1956 the ANC concentrated its energies in this sphere on trying to win control of the newly elected school boards, which originally had intended to embargo.

In the 1970s, the stakes were of a different order. While the quality of state education had deteriorated its provision had massively exapanded to embrace the majority of urban children. After 1970, rising unemployment meant that a secondary school matriculation certificate no longer supplied a gurantee for employment. If education had lost some of its status for Africans by the 1980s, black votes were to become much more important for the government with the institution of its constitutional and local government reforms. African consumption power, of limited significance in the 1950s, also had become a crucial element in the South African economy In short, from the mid 1970s on, Africans predomination as consumers and workers, and they had a new power of veto in a policy in which the authorities were attempting to move to less repressive forms of government.

These changes were first signaled in the school children's protests that flared up in June 1976 in reaction to a recently enforced requirement that certain school subjects be taught in Africans. First in Sowete and then later countrywide, the children backed up their opposition to the Afrikaans rule with a class boycott that lasted six months, cost nearly two thousand lives, and transfigured South African politics. Rescinding the Afrikaans rule nevertheless failed to end conflict in black schools - class boycotts brought out 100,000 children for eight months in 1980 and closed down two-thirds of township schools between July and December 1985 in protest against the declaration of a state of emergency. Through the 1980s, school children supplied an army of street activists to anti-apartheid resistance organizations, which themselves were often led by the graduates of the 1976 classroom rebellion.

Politicized teenagers conspicuous in the organization and (the often coercive) enforcement of an extraordinary series of consumer boycotts that began in 1985 in small towns in the Eastern Cape. Here African residents 'associations (known as "civics') announced boycotts of shops in city centers with the intention of putting pressure on businessmen to negotiate the removal of police and soldiers from townships, secure the release of detainees and raise funds for social facilities. Threatened with bankruptcy, chambers of commerce and municipal councils, in the fifteen towns initially affected, opened nogotiations with the civics and in many cases succeeded in persuading the authorities to concede to local demands.

Industrial Strikes and Demonstrations

In apartheid's final decade, black power was most dramatically manifest in industry. In brief, efforts to build African industrial organization date from the years immediately following the First World War, but the first stable organizations developed only in the late 1930s after the entry of sizable numbers of Africans into manufacturing industry. Wartime economic growth and policy reforms ancouraged the growth of African trade unions, many of them under Communist Party

leadership. Much of this organization declined in the postwar recession, but enought survived into the 1950s for the ANC to develop a trade union wing, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), which then was effectively destroyed by the imprisonment or funishment of most of its officials in the early 1960s. A new generation of trade unions developed out of a second era of manufacturing growth in the 1960s, By 1976 African trade union membership had climbed to seventy - five thousand. Fifteen years later, 1.5 million African workers belonged to trade unions, many of them united in a federation allied with the ANC.

Most trade union struggles were directed against employers and ostensible concerned workplace issues rather than political considerations. However, in the case of African labour the employer, particularly in the early history of industrial struggle, was often the government, African strikes were in any case usually illegal, and so workers found themselves in conflict with the states as much as with factory managers. Inevitably, political organizations also were drawn into industrial struggles, most dramatically in two African strikes in the gold mines in 1920 and 1946. Both the ANC and the Communist Party tried to sponsor a mine workers' trade union during the 1940s. Similarly, workers and trade unions lent support to political causes with demonstrative "stay-at-home" general strikes.

South Africa's racial urban geography facilitated the organization of these protests, as most Africans lived in densely built townships, enclosed and isolated from other suburban communities with relatively few points of outside communication. With quiet small groups of picketers outside railway and bus stations, a determined organization could quite easily control access to and departure from a township. Between 1950 and 1961, the ANC the Communist Party, and the PAC between them summoned seven stay-at home. demonstrations, four of them on a national scale and three of them for several days. They were unevenly successful. Most workers Luming the strikes tended to enjoy the most backing in those cities where trade were especially strong, in port-elizebath and Durba. The taction was revived during the 1976 school children's uprisery. in three separate occasions the Soweto Students' Representative Council managed to persude most African workers to withdraw their labour from Johannesburg factories and shops. From 1984 the UDF's revolt against the constitution was frequently punctuated by stay-away strikes, several every year, each observed by hundreds of thousands of workers. Meanwhile, conventional industrial strikes reached record levels in 1987, a year in which half a million workers were involved in 1, 148 factory stoppages representing a total of nearly 6 million lost man-days.

Conclusions

How decisive was the contribution made by nonviolent "mass action" to South Africa's transition to nonracial democracy? Before the Soweto uprising the victories that could be claimed by the leaders of antiracist movements were quite modest. Mohandas Gandhi secured some fairly theoretical legal concessions from General Smuts. And African women's resistance in 1913, and later in the 1950s, helped to delay the full implementation of pass laws. Until the modern era, though it was exceptional for Africans or blacks more generally to muster the kind of strength in their protests to convince the authorities that national interests would be served by concessions or reform.

Only very occasionally did black resistance engage the sympathies of white society it was more successful in attracting the attention of the outside world. but with the exception of the Indian minority. external support for the political emancipation of black South Arficans began to be a significant factor in their struggle only with the inception of the United Nations arms embargo in 1963. Only from 1976 did the moral stature of the anti-apartheid movement begin to be matched by the power and the resources at its disposal. And even then, the forces arrayed against minority rule by civil disobedience movements and trade union organizations in the 1980s need to be balanced against the weight of other factors that helped to predispose President de Klerk's government toward negotiations at the end of the decade. These would have included the pressures generated by external economic sanctions, the cost of containing guerrilla insurgency, the demoralization of white South African society arising from political violence (which claimed seven thousand lives between 1980 and 1990), the effects on government perceptions of economic recession and demographic increase, and finally, sociological and cultural changes within the white population. It is true, though, that none of these factors can be explained or evaluated in isolation; they were mutually reinforcing. Certainly the progress of negotiated democratic transition was considerably accelerated and facilitated by the existence of the vigorous cibvil society, which was itself a by-product of assertive popular political movements. And, to the extend to which these movements drew on traditions nearly a century old, all the history recounted in this entry helps to understand South Africa's relatively peaceful passage to democracy in 1994.

Tom Lodge

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Exercise

1. Discuss the place of nonviolence in the struggle against Apartheid in South Africa.
2. Comapre Gandhi with Nelson Maodela and Bishp Desmound Tutu.
3. Discuss the place of International sanctions. in supprating the struggle aganist Apartheid

Field Work / Application

1. Read the writings of Nelson Mandela and Bishop Desmound Tutu.
2. Discuss with people who have knowledge of the South African Struggle.

Lesson : 18

CONTEMPORARY EXAMPLES OF NONVIOLENT ACTION : CASE STUDIES

NONVIOLENT ACTION IN EAST EUROPE

Revolutions of 1989

Series of political upheavals in which 'people power' in various forms generally nonviolent in character, was one part of a larger overall process that undermined one-party Communist systems in the six Eastern European countries that were allied with the Soviet Union throguh membership in the Warsaw Treaty Organization : Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. (Some of these countries can legitimately be viewed as part of "Central Europe", but for convenience the term "Eastern Europe" is used in this survey).

There were similarties among the events in these different countries: in all cases there was popular pressure, including demonstrations in the streets; factions favoring reform existed within the ruling Communist parties; nervous Communist regimes showed them selves incapable of rallying serious public support; the Soviet Union proved unwilling to come to the aid of the Communist establishment attempts to create transitional regimes failed to satisfy the public's demand for change; there was either an open transfer of power, or at least a public admission that there had to be an abandonment of the exisiting one party system; constitutional guarantees of the primacy of ruling Communist parties were abolished; and by 1990 at the latest, free mulitparty electiond were held.

The events in the six countries were revolutions of an unusual kind. In most cases the old order was in some measure ready to yield to a new one. The revolution sought was one involving an abandonment or revlutionary ideas, a reassertion of multiparty democracy, and a preoccupation with the past. Some observers coined the term "revolution" to encompass the element of reform, as much as revolution, which was at the heart of the 1989 events.

The similarities between events in the six countries, and the fact that they all led to the end of the one party state as it had been known, suggest a degree of inevitability and uniformity that is misleading. Events in each country had their own character and causes, and left very different legacies for the hazardous process of trying to construct a post- Communist democratic order.

In 1990-1991 comparable processes were to take place in the former Soviet Union. Also, from January 1990 onward, cautious moves toward multiparty systems began in the two Eastern European Communist-ruled countries, Albania and Yugoslavia, which had not undergone revolutions in 1989. In these countries, which were not members of the Warsaw Pact, Moscow had less influence on events; and in Yugoslavia the collapse of the federal system led to the outbreak of a series of wars of succession beginning in May 1991.

Impact of the Changes in the Soviet Union upon Eastern Europe

The changes in the Soviet Union following Mikhail Gorbachev's accession to the leadership of the communist party of the Soviet Union (CPUS) in 1985 provided the essential precondi-

tion for the subsequent upheaval in Eastern Europe. These changes led both to a questioning of numerous aspects of Communist rule and to a growing sense that the Soviet Union might not intervene to defend unpopular socialist regimes by force of arms.

Byt the summer of 1989 Gorbachev appeared to have retreated significantly from the long-standing Soviet interventionist doctrine, commonly and pejoratively known as the "Brezhnev doctrine". which had sought to justify Soviet military intervention in a social country. When the leading role a Communist Party was felt to be threatended there. In his book *Perestroika*, first published in 1987 Gorbachev wrote: "The time is ripe for abandoning views on foreign policy which are influenced by an imperial standpoint. Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States is able to force its will on others. It is possible to seppress, compel, bribe, break or blast' but only for a certain period". In a number of speeches, Gorbachev intimated that the Soviet Union would not try to inhibit gradual changes in Eastern Europe. Similar indications were given by Soviet Foreign Minister Edvard Shevardnaze. The effect of such statements was to encourage those Eastern Europeans who were pressing for changes to move ahead even of the pace of the soviet restructring.

However, the process of abandoning of the Brezhnev doctrine was not sudden, was to some extent forced upon Gorbachev by the pace of events in Eastern Europe and was in several respects uncertain and incomplete. The long-standing ambiguity in Soviet policy between subscription to the principle of noninterference on the one hand, and maintenance of an imposed order in Eastern Europe on the other, continued right up to 1989. There was still room for doubt as to whether in an actual crises the Soviet Union would act in accordance with its recent words or its past practice and whether policy would be made by Gorbachev or by others. As one leading member of solidarity in Poland, Dr. Janusz Onyszkiewicz, was later to put it, by autumn 1989 the Brezhnev doctrine might have been buried by Shevardnadze and others, but it was not yet proved to be dead.

In addition to public statements suggesting that military intervention to prevent change in Eastern Europe was unlikely, Gerhard Wetting reports evidence of a decision by the CPSU Politburo in August 1989 that Soviet troops in East Germany. Czechoslovakia, and Poland were to stay in their barracks if conflict broke out in these countries - a decision not known about there at the time.

It was only when the Eastern European revolutions were already well under way that the Brezhnev doctrine seemed to be conclusively renounced. In an interview with U.S. television on October 25, Mr. Gennady Gerasimov. The Soviet Foreign ministry spokesman said; "we now have the Frank Sinatra doctrine .... So every country decides on its own which road to take." This statement, which referred to Frank Sinatra's line "I did it my way", attracted widespread attention and was taken as a sign that the Soviet Union would not intervene by force to prevent the changes then going on in Eastern Europe. On October 26-27, a meeting of Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers in Warsaw recognized the absolute right of each state to determine its own socio-political development.

It was not just through the erosion of the Brezhnev doctrine that the Soviet Union assisted the process of change in Eastern Europe. The whole process of questioning so many aspects of

socialis and of Stalin's and Brezhnev's legacies, was bound to have a strong secondary effects., In those countries on which the Soviet Union had imposed socialist type system. This was especially so in countries whose regime had been loudest in proclaiming their absolute loyalty to the Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria.

Some have seen the changes in the USSR, and Gorbachev's policies, as having themselves created the changes in Eastern Europe. Soviet foreign minister Edrvd Shevardnadze said at the CPSU Congressin July 1990 in perhaps something of an exaggeration; "Did we, the diplomats, the ministers and the top political leadership, know what was going to happen in eastern Europe? I have never answered this question, but now I shall answer it. Yes, we foresaw everything, we felt everything. We felt that unless serious changes were made, tragic events would follow."

Suggestions that the changes were a part of policy' that they reflected a conscious decision, or that the time scale was foreseen, need to be examined critically. In the confused conditions of the Soviet Union in 1989. Gorbachev was riding an avalence and and trying all the time to look as if he was in control. It is doubtful whether he, or his senior colleagues, can really claim so much direct responsibility for a series of events that had many causes. As much as the Soviet regime did make plans for change in Eastern Europe in 1989, evidence suggests that they were plans for controlled change to Communist reformers such as Petar Mladenov in Bulgaria, rather than fundamental change to multiparty systems.

Whatever the intentions of the Soviet leaders toward Eastern Europe many in fact have been, to outsiders it was far from clear in the summer of 1989 that the Soviet Union was ready to see Cummunist control disappear. Some in the West, and perhaps in the East too, were still influenced by arguments that Communist totalitarian systems were unchangeable, or at least not likely to change. Even those who correctly perceived that the changes in Mosscow were very profound still had grounds for doubt about how exaclty they would affect Eastern Europe. It is notorious that periods of reforming change in Moscow can presage tragedy in Eastern Europe-as had been demonstrated dramatically in 1953 in East Germany and 1956 in Hungary. Moreover, despite all the political reforms he had introduced, Gorbachev apparently remained an advocate of one party rule. As late as November 26, 1989, he published an article in Pravda defending the retention of single party rule in the USSR.

Cautions views about prospects for change were informed by an abiding sense that the Soviet Union remained attached to a security system in Eastern Europe that had been created out of the catastrophe of the Second World War, and that had seemingly provided a greater degree of stability for the USSR than previous systems had done. 1987, Gorbachev had been general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for only a few years and was far from certain to stay in power; whereas the leaders of the six Eastern European member states of the Warsaw pact had by 1987, held power for an impressive average of over twenty years.

Many observers put more emphasis on reformist prospects in Poland and Hungary than on the possibility of mass resistance in the more orthodox countries of Eastern Europe. This was not altogether wrong: events in Eastern Europe in 1989 did begin with reform in Poland and Hun-

gary, even though they were to continue with more active popluar participation in civil resistance in East Germany and Czechoslokia.

Poland

Poland was the first Eastern European Communist country to move decisively toward non-Communist government. On January 17-18, a meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (the ruling Communist party PUWP) accepted proposals for political pluralism. These proposals had been articulated by Solidarity. an independednt movement. founded in 1980. On June 4, 1989, in elections for the Sejm (parliament), candidates for Solidairty decisively beat Communist candidates. On August 24, the National Assembly elected as prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki of Solidarity, and on September 12 it endorsed his proposals for a new coalition council of ministers dominated by Solidarity.

This change in Poland was in part the result of pressure from below in the form of popular resistance. Over a period of more than twenty years, tha civil resistance of Poles, and especially of Polish workers, had contributed significantly to an evolution in the thinking of the party leadership. In this process, the strike weapon had been paramount. The strikes in the Baltic ports in the winter of 1970-1971 had shown the capacity of such action even in the face of brutal repression, and many subsequent strikes and demonstrations in the next two decades, especially in summer 1980, had added to the party's malaise, while also providing the pretext for the desperate move in December 1981 to impose martial law and outlaw Solidarity.

In Poland after 1980, civil resistance had to be used with considerable care. Solidarity showed its power as much by its ability to restrein its followers as by its ability to unleash them. In December 1988, at a time of crucial deliberations on the future of Poland, one senior party figure, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, said publicly that Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was "a different man from 1981" (the period of Solidarity's confrontation with the authorities leading to the imposition or martial law). Walesa was now said to favour gradual change and compromise with the PUWP.

The change in Poland was also the result of evolutionary changes within party and government organs. It occurred as the government slowly came to recognize that the Communist system was morally and politically bankrupt. The proposals for political Pluralism, orgianially articulated by Solidarity, were adopted by the Central Committee of the PUWP on January 17-18, 1989, after a tense debate. The senior Politbureau member and principal party ideologist, Mr. Marian Orzechowski, produced an initiative on political and trade union pluralism. After a tense and difficult debate (in which the leaders threatened to resign), this was accepted, providing the necessary basis for the elections in June and the formation of a mainly non-Communist governement in August-September 1989.

Internal factors, however important, were not the only one contributing to the Polish outcome of a non-Communist government. The changes in the Soviet Union played a crucial partm not least in increasing the willing less of the PUWP regime to search for compromise solutions with its Solidarity adversaries. The U.S. led policy of limited sanctions. introduced by President Ronald Reagan after the 1981 impostition of martial law, may also have had some effect. These had limited objectives : the ending of emergency laws, the freeing of political prisoners, and the

resumption of government dialogue with Solidarity. As these objectives were achieved, the sanctions were progressively lifted. Finally,there were reports in 1992. which aroused much controversy, that during the 1980s Solidarity had received substantial financial support from the West, including from the Vatican bank and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Hungary

Hungary too had a pioneering role in creating preconditions for change in other countries in Eastern Europe. It did so partly by pointing the way toward a pluralistic economic and political system within Hungary itself, and partly by influencing events in East Gemany decisively by permitting the passage of emigrants from East Germany to Austria. The changes in Hungary were characterized even more than in Poland, by an early and gradual evolution of ideas, including within the ruling party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP). This evolution was powerfully influenced by memories of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and by a strong awareness of the need to reform the economic system if the country was to be competitive by internationally. Although there were many important strikes and demonstrations, there was no dramatic confrontation or sudden transfer of power of the kind that happened in other countries in 1989.

By 1988, the evolution in Hungary had reached a point where genuine political and economic pluralism was increasingly identified as the goal. In July 1988, Prime Minister Karoly Grosz, during a visit to the United States, said that he could envisage any sort of a system in Hungary including a multiparty system. On November 13, a coalition of opposition groups issued a call for democratic elections.

In 1989, the moves toward pluralism gathered pace. On January 11, the Hungarian parliament passed a law enabling citizens to establish independent associations. In June, various new political parties were set up. On June 21, Imre Pozsgay, the reformis leader of the HSWP, said that the party accepted the principle of a democratic electoral political system based on free elections and contested by rival political parties. In July Janos Kadar, who led dominated Hungarian political life since 1956, died freeing the way for further reforms. On September, 18, a complex series of talks between the party and opposition organizations resulted, after a marathon total of 238 sessions, in a compromise agreement that provided for new presidential elections, a new constitution and new electoral laws. Pozsgay's role in all this is a notable example of how important a part in the process of change in Eastern Europe was played by influential individuals within ruling Communist parties. On October 7, the HSWP disbanded reforming itself as a socialist party purportedly comparable to those in the West. On October 23, 1989 the acting head of state Matyas Szuros formally proclaimed the new Hungarian Republic (no longer the "Hungarian People's Republic") and a new constitution.

Disciplined but strong popular pressure within Hungary contributed greatly to the changes by forcing the pace and making Communist reformists go beyond reform. It was manifested in many ways, including in demonstrations in June 1988 (violently dispersed by the police) and in June 1989 (assisted by the authorities) to commemorate the death of Imre Nagy in the wake of the 1856 Hungarian Revolution. At the demonstration on June 16, 1989, in front of a crowd of 2,00,000 had shown live on national television Viktor Orban of the Young Democrats said prophatically. "If

we can trust our souls and strength we can put an end of the Communist dictatorship; if we are determined enough we can force the Party to submit itself to free elections; and if we do not lose sight of the ideals of 1956, then we will be able to elect a government that will start immediate negotiations for the swift withdrawal of Russian troops."

The Hungarian changes in 1939 included the opening up of Hungary's border with Austria-a process that had started in May 1989 when the dismanting of border fences began. This had huge ramifications, both because it enabled East German refugees to escape from their country to the West via Hungary and also because it raised hopes that the "iron curtain" could disappear along its entire length. On March 1, 1989. Hungary had become the first Eastern European state formally to accede to the terms of the 1950 UN Convertion on Refugees and the follow-up Protocol of 1967-an event prompted by the influx of some thirteen thousand ethnic Hungarian refugees form Romania. This agreement was to provide a useful buttress to Hungary in autumn 1919 in reinforcing its resolve to permit. East German refugees to transit Hungarian territory and go to Austria. It provided Hungary with a good legal ground for repudiating on September 10 a secret bilateral agreement with East Germany that had been concluded in June 1869, barring nationals of the other state from unauthorized travel to third states. After a decent interval following the September 10 decision, Hungary also received generous state guaranteed credits from West Germany: an illustration of the significance of the foreign policies of Western states in assisting the process of the change in Eastern Europe.

East Germany

In East Germany, unlike in Poland and Hungary, the communist regime in 1969 was not of a mind to make major concessions to its reformist critics. Numerous manifestations of peaceful opposition, including election monitoring in May, mass emigration and demonstations of various kinds had been increasing throughout the summer of 1989. From May onward, a flood of refugees to the West via Hungary had forced many close to the regime to radically rethink the utility of the Berlin Wall and many other key policies as well. In September, New Forum came into existance a body without office, staff or funds. Its members were not antisocialist and largely limited themselves to a straight forward call for democratic reform. In October and early November, huge demostrations in East Berlin, Leipzig and other cities provided further proof that the regime had lost control of its own population and also indicated a public mood that was more pro-Western New Forum's leaders. The whole process was indeed a great triumph of nonviolent pressure from below.

On October 8, a march of thirty thousand in Dresden (where the moderate Hans Modrow was party leader) dispersed after the authorities agreed to meet a delegation for discussion. On October 9 at least fifty thousand people demostrated in Leipzig, following the regular Monday "prayers for peace" in the Church of St.Nicholas an event that has been called a "turning point" in the East German revolution. Violence by the authorities was widely feared and as subsequently revealed orders to use force against demostrators were in fact issued by Erich Honecker, the head of state and of the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED). The protesters under took to remain peaceful and there was a last-minute appeal issued by well-known individuals for nonviolence. On this basis the local commanders argued in a dispatch to East Berlin that the use of force was not necessary and the order was revoked.

On October 11, the SED Politburo accepted the need for dialogue with the population and on October 18, Erich Honecker resigned as head of state and head of party after eighteen years in power, being succeeded by Egon Krenz, who was not known to be a reformer. This did nothing to stop the demonstrators, who under the leadership of New Forum wanted more fundamental change. On October 30, over 3,00,000 demostrated in Leipzig and on November 4 perhaps half a million demostrated in East Berlin. The refugee wave continued on November 8, the new SED leadership indicated that it would accept the idea of free elections on November 9 travel restrictions were lifted, which meant opening up the Berlin Wall. From then on, free elections were inevitable leading to the meeting of East Germany's first freely elected parliament on April 5, 1990 and to the unification of Germany which came into effect on october 3, 1990.

Special circumstances made peaceful opposition possible and effective. The popular pressure was undoubtedly assisted by pressure from outside. The East German regime having to decades proclaimed eternal loyalty to the Soviet Union was vaulnerable to change in Moscow. The visit by Gorbachev to celebrate the fortieth anniversery of the German Democratic Republic on October 7 was a key catalyst. In a speech in East Berlin on October 6, Gorbachev stressed that "matters affecting the GDR are decided not on Moscow but in Berlin". Some of the demonstrators later that month shouted "Gorby, Gorby". Although Soviet policy toward East Germany was opaque at times and some influential Soviet figures favoured military support for a beleguared socialist regime the Soviet leadership appears to have opposed all use of force against the demonstrations.

In addition the existence of a prosperous free and defeed country near at hand, namely West Germany provided not just an example for East Germans to aspire toward, but also a haven to which they could free as some 1,80,000 did by one means or another between January 1 and November 9, 1989.

The discipline of the East German demonstrators was also a significant factor. Honecker and his colleagues tended to favor the use of force. They had congratulated the Chinese on the Tiananmen Square massacre only a few months before. They came close to repeating it at Leipzig on October 9. That they did not do so is probably due not only to some resistance from within the regime and from Gorbachev but also to the fact the protests mostly church led, were restrained and demonstrators gave on protext for violent repression.

Bulgaria

The changes in Bulgaria in 1989 had more the character of a "palace coup" On November 10, the seventy-eight year old. Todor Zhivkov who had been first secretary of the Buigarian Communist Party (BCP) since 1954 was ousted. His successor and the principal engineer of his removal was Petar Mladenov the foreign minister. Mladenov had reportedly been outraged by the renewal in May 1989 of the repression of Bulgaria's Turkish minority. In late October he had allegedly stopped off in Moscow while on route to china and secured backing from the Soviet leadership for a challenge to Zhivkov. On November 3, about four thousand people had taken part in a brief prodemocracy demonstration outside the National Assemble building. Overall popular participation was much less than in the other countries of Eastern Europe. The coup's timing and

direction were decisively influenced by the domino effect of events elsewhere and by the strong sense in Bulgaria that it is a country whose fate is inextricably linked with that of the Soviet Union.

The change from Communist rule in Bulgaria continued in 1990 and 1991. In June 1990 the Socialist Party (a reincarnation of the BCP) became the first such Eastern European party to win free elections. However, the new government was neither effective nor popular and in November a general strike and daily demonstrations in Sofia led to the resignation of the socialist prime minister, Andrei Lukanov thus effectively ending Communist Party rule. In elections in October 1991, the anti-Communist Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) came out ahead of the Socialist party.

Czechoslovakia

The "velvet revolution" in Czechoslovakia in November-December 1989 began one week after the Berlin Wail was opened. On November 17, the anniversary of a Nazi assault on Czech students, Czech police attacked demonstrators in Prague and for a time it was believed that one student had been killed. On November 19, Civic Forum was formed linking together various Church opposition groups. Mass demonstrations and strikes followed leading to a two-hour general strike on November 27. On December 3, President Gustav Husak swore in a new federal government and on December, 9 he announced his resignation. On December 29, Vaclav Havel was elected as a president by unanimous vote of the Federal Assembly, becoming the first non-Communist head of state since 1984.

The ground for the "velvet revolution" had been prepared for many years. Its roots can be traced back to the Soviet led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. At that time there had never been any question of armed resistance. An initially strong movement of demonstrations and non-co-operation in the immediate aftermath of the invasion quickly gave way to a greater degree of acquiescence. Even exiles from Czechosiovakia who in past occupations of their country had often taken up arms-did not do so in this case.

Within the country, a small movement of peaceful and legal opposition had emerged in the late 1970s, stressing the importance of national and international legal standards. In addition the concluding document of the Vienna meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe issued on January 17, 1989, also had an influence. Statements by participants at the Vienna meeting, including U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, appear to have inhibited the Czeth riot police from continuing to attack demonstrators in Prague who were commemorating the twentieth anniversary of death of Jan Palach, a student who had committed suicide in early 1969 in protest against the Soviet-led invasion. On January 18, some five thousand people demonstrated without interference-a serious sign that the regime was losing control.

In 1989 and especially after events in the neighbouring countries of Poland. East Germany and Hungary people began to sense that it was safe to openly oppose the decaying system of rule of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz). Without the mass demonstrations, the strikes and the evidence of growing defections from the ranks of the regime's usual supporters. It is scarcely imaginable that the CPCz leaders accustomed to a monopoly of power would have abdicated; and without the impressive non-violent discipline of the demonstrations, It is probable that the leadership would have found a pretext for violent repression.

What happened in prague on the night of November 17, 1989, was more complex than appeared at the time. In May 1990, a parlimentary committee investigating the events of November 17 released its report suggesting close involvement by the Soviet Committee for State Security (KGB). The general picture that emerged was of a staged police "outrage" on November 17, in which the police used brutal violence and spread rumors of the death of a demonstration-all with the aim of creating conditions in which the existing leadership of the CPCz would be forced to make way for a more durable replacement. There have also been various suggestions as to the identity of the Soviet Union's favored candidate for the leadership of party and country including the name of Zdenck Miynar, a former Politburo colleauge of Alexandar Dubcek (and fellow student with Gorbachev) who had been living in the West. Whatever the truth of such reports, the leadership of Civic Forum and the mass demonstrations throughout the country, ensured that what may have been planned as a palace coup from above ended as a genuine revolution from below.

Romania

The revolution, if such it was, in Romania in December 1989 presents the most tangled picture of all. Its character was shaped above all by the fact that President Nicolae Ceausescu, who had led the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) since 1965 had built up a nationalist-cum-Communist regime of an essentially Stalinist character.

The changes in Romania were apparently triggered by events in the town of Timisoara beginning on December 15. When the government made efforts to exile a popular and effective ethnic. Hungarian protestant Pastor Mr.Laszio Token demonstations began that became openly hostile to the Ceausescu regime. On December 17 the protesters were brutally assaulted in a slaughter that was believed at the time to number in the thousands. Many observers thought this slaughter would stop the protests. Yet it did not do so.

In Bucharest two days later, in a situation that plainly could have become a bloodbath, crowds shouting. "Down with Ceausescu" caused the Romainan dictator to panic visibly, in sight of the television cameras. The crowd then openly challenged army tanks sent into restore order. The next day December 22, was the decisive day of the revolutron. Ceausescu made a final disatrous effort to speak to the angry crowds, then ordered the use of force. It became apparent that the army was changing sides. The crowd was under standably delighted to have the army as an ally and the shout went up "The army is with us?" Ceausescufied from Bucharest, and a former party official, Ion Iliescu, hastily announced the formation of a body called the National Salvation Council.

A murky and violent period ensued. It appeared that the National Salvation Council's efforts to establish a new government were opposed by individuals, reportedly from Ceauseacu shated Securitate forces. who showed their opposition by engaging in sniper activity. The people who had been demonstrating peacefully were pleased to have the army with them when it came to dealing with this threat. On December 25, Nicolae Ceausescu and his powerful wife, Elena having been captured after their attempt to escape, were summarily tried by a military tribunal and executed. This was the only Eastern European revolution of 1989 that involved an element of civil war and the only one in which former leaders were killed.

The open use of violence by both sides on December 1989 and January 1990 and various conspiracy theories regarding these events contributed to a mood of bitterness that would continue to haunt Romanian polities. the transfer away from Communist power was at least at first, much less complete than in other Eastern European countries; the transition did not initally get beyond that stage of controlled liberalization of a kind that might have been planned with Moscow's consent.

A major controversy about the authenticity of the Romanian revolution broke out in 1990 focusing on an interview with the former communist dissident Silviu Brucan and the former defense minister Nicolae Militaru published in Adevarul (Truth) the main official newspaper in Bucharest, on August 23, 1990. Both of them had been prominent in the National Salvation Front when it seized power in December 1989 but were later sidelined by President Iliescu who they said had shown no interest in actually changing the Communist political system. They said they had participated in a coup plot, prepared long in advance, that sealed Ceausescu's fate. It involved army units many generals and a section of Ceausescu's Securitate secret police. They said it was untrue that the army, as popularly believed had suddenly taken the side of the people in a revolution. This version of events challenged that which had been put out by the National Salvation Front. which claimed to have led a popular revolution that had started in Timisoare. It was also alleged that the threat from snipers had been greatly exaggerated by the self-appointed National Salvation Council in order to secure public support for its actions. Further, in the years after 1990, evidence emerged of some degree of Soviet involvement (including that of the KGB) in plots against Ceasescu.

Whatever the truth of the various claims and counterclaims. It seems clear from the record that President Ceausescu fatelly lost his nerve when confronted on December 21 and 22 by an unarmed but rebellious crowd. Some of the violence of the events in Romania in subsequent days can be attributed to the fact that the Ceausescu regime, being more nationalistic and Independent of the Soviet Union than most others in Eastern Europe at the time had built up its own domestic bases of support, which continued to fight for it even after it had effectively ceased to exist. The Ceausescu regime could not be restrained from using extreme violence by Moscow to anything like the same degree as the more dependent regimes in East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

General Issues Conclusions

The part played by civil resistance in the events of 1989 suggests several conclusions.

1. Civil resistance was only one aspect of a large range of factors leading to the revolutions in Eastern Europe. It did nevertheless shape the character, course and outcome of these revolutions.

2. There are several explanations for why, in a particularly highly armed region of the most highly armed continent resistance assumed a nonviolent form. Thses include national traditions of resistance going back decades and even centuries; the influenced churches: etihical rejectons of partical violence; memories of wars and civil wars leading to a desire not to repeat their miseries; an inhibition against the use of arms where these are known to be numerous and destructive; and

an awareness of the vulnerability of the system being opposed. In many cases civil resistance was a reaction to the fact of the monopoly of power's being in the hands of the state, and to the experience of overwhelming force. The lesson of such force, as used for example in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 coupled with the memory of Western passivity, compelled opponents of Communist systems to resort to means other than violence to achieve their ends.

3. When a system has lost its inner belief and its dynamisms as Soviet-style socialism had done by the late 1990s (due partly to earlier episodes of civil resistance) it makes a relatively easy target. Further, an awareness that the Communist regimes were reluctant to use force and would be restrained by the much more powerful Soviet leadership if they did so, assisted the growth and ultimate success of civil resistance.

4. The demonstators thanks to their restraint, discipline and emphasis on legality could not easily be viewed as a security threat and gave no real justification for the use of counterforce in at least two instances in East Germany and Romania orders from the head of state to use force against demonstrators were not implemented by senior officials.

5. The presence of free and defended countries in the West was crucial to much of the change. This was not only because these were unusual cases of revolutions in favor of actually existing types of political system (that is, as found in the West) but also because the firmness of Western countries in resisting Eastern pressure over decades contributed to the loss of dynamism of Communist systems and encouraged opposition movements.

What do the events of 1889 imply for the role of civil resistance in defense?. The conclusions are not simple. If civil resistance is a form of defence, it is sometimes a very slow acting one, necessitating sometimes a long wait for the right moment to act. Societies that have just been freed from long years of externally induced repression generally want to be defended not liberated, in future. The countries that emerged from the former Soviet empire all left the Warsaw Pact (which was formally dissolved on April 1 1991) but they have sought an association with the North Atlantic Treaty organization and have not but all reliance on civil resistance as a means of defence against present and possible future threats Civil resistance was highly effective in 1989, but was implicity understood to be a special opinion for special circumstances. - *Adam Roberts.*

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Soviet Union, Coup Attempt 1991 :

August 1991 coup attempt by Communist hardliners which alied after three days as a result of nonviolent resistance by Soviet citizens, nonco-operation by significant elements of the military and theaptitude of the coup leaders themselves. The coup leaders sought to preserve the old order of a strong central government ruled by the Communist Party. But Instead, the bungled coup accelerated the country's move toward democracy and decentralization precipitating the demise of the Communist Party and the breakup of the Soviet Union.

The leaders of the coup all members of Soviet President Mikhal Gorbachev's cabinet called themselves the State Committee for the State of Emergency. There were eight of them : Oieg Baklanov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Defence Council; Vladimir Kryuchkov head of the KGB; Valentin Pavlov, Soviet Prime Minister; Boris Pugo, Soviet Interior minister; Vasily Starodubtsev, chairman of the Soviet Farmer's Union : Alexander Tizyakov,president of the Association of State Enterprises and Industrial, Construction, Transport and Communication Facilities of the USSR; Gennady Yanayav, Soviet vice President' and Dmitry Yazov, Soviet minister of defense.

The coup was timed to prevent the August 20 signing of the Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States, which would have weakened the Soviet central government and given the fifteen Sovier republics more power. The coup began on Sunday afternoon, August 18, when Gorbachev vacationing in the Crimea, was taken captive in his dacha by KGB troops loyal to the conspiracy. The next morning the Soviet news agency, TASS reported that Gorbachev was ill and unable to perform his duties and that Soviet Vice President Gennady Yanayev had assumed the role of acting president. The State Committee for the State of Emergency, ensconced within the Kremlin, declared a six month state of emergency, banned demonstrations, suspended political parties (except for the communist Party) shut down independent newspapers and took control of Soviet radio and television. The Emergency Committee sent Soviet troops into the capitals of the three Baltic republies to seize key government buildings and communication centers. Troops and ar-

mored vehicles took up positions around the Kremlin to defend the coup leaders. Tanks and armored personnel carriers rolled through the streets of Moscow.

Inexplicably, the coup leaders did not arrest Russian President Boris Yeltsin or other Potential enemies of the coup to prevent them from organizing resistance. Not did they shut down television, telephone and other communication likhs with the outside world, CNN and other foreign correspondents continued to report throughout the coup. Telephone lines remained open.

When Yeltsin heard the news, he rushed from his home to the Russian parliament building, known as the "White House" which quickly became the center of resistance to the coup. Early Monday afternoon, Yeltsin climbed on top of a tank outside the White House and appealed to the Russian people to resist the coup. He declared the coup illegal and unconstitutional and called for a general strike. Coalminers in several regions of the Soviet Union responded by walking off the job, but most other industries remained in operation. In some parts of Moscow, people filled the streets in protest, surrounding tanks and other military vehicles and even climbing on top of them to confront troops. Thousands of Muscovites built make shift tank barricades around the Russian parliament building and kept vigi through the night. Just before midmight, a battalion of ten tanks that had been sent into Moscow to support the coup defected to Yeltsin's side and took up defensive positions around the White House.

News of the coup and the growing resistance to it spread in a variety of ways. Yeltsin was able to transmit messages though radio that were picked up by the BBC, Voice of America and Radio Liberty and then rebroadcast into the Soviet Union. An independent radio station, Moscow Echo also continued to broadcast Intermittently during the coup. Journalists whose Independent newspapers had been shut down used cellular phones photocopiers and fax machines to get the news out. Anticoup leaflets went up in Moscow subway stations and were distributed at protest rallies. At Izvestia one of the Newspapers left free to publish, Printers refused toput out the paper unless Yeltsin's appeal to resist the coup was included. The paper came out nearly a day late with the Emergency Committee's declarations on page one and Yeltsin's call to resistance on page two. Similarly at TASS pronouncements of the Emergency Committee were eventually interspersed with reports of the emerging resistance. For example, TASS let the Soviet people know that Aleksel II, Patriacrch of the Russian Orthodox Church, had come out against the coup.

Western nations reached to the coup cautiously at first, but eventually came around to the same position. The United States condemned the coup, halted U.S aid and demanded that Gorbachev be restored to power. Similarly, the European Community cut off more than $1 billion in aid and also demanded that Gorbachev be returned to office.

Midday on Tuesday Yeltsin and other speakers addressed an anticoup rally of fifty thousand Moscovites in front of the White House. Fearful that Soviet troops would eventually storm the White House and crush the resistance, further preparations were made for the building's defense Tens of thousands of people built barricades and formed human chains thirty deep around the White House. Roads leading to the White House were blocked, some with trolley buses as tank barriers. Barges were used to blockade the Moscow River, which runs past the White House. And volunteers from two industrial security firms helped to secure the building. Inside the White House, hundreds of armed volunteers kept watch, watch ready to defend the building by force if necessary.

Elsewhere in the Soviet Union, the coup also met with resistance. In Leningrad, the city council condemned the coup and Mayor Anatoly Sobchak called for widespread resistance. Workers in some twenty factories went on strike and 2,00,000 demonstrated against the coup in front of the Winter Palace. Mayor Sobchak also negotiated an agreement with the commander of the Leningrad military district, Col. Gen. Viktor Samsonov not to bring tanks into the city even if ordered to by the Emergency Committee in Moscow. In Kishinev capital of the Moldavian republic 4,00,000 demonstrated blocking entrances to the city and surrounding key government and news media centers to stave off military incursion. Leaders of both the Ukraine and Kazakhstan declared their support for Yeltsin and their opposition to the coup in the Baltic republics, where Soviet troops blockaded harbors and highways, seized government buildings and took control of broadcast stations and telephone exchanges, people formed human chains and erected makeshift barricades to block streets and hindeed Soviet troop movements. In Lithuania, President Vytautis Landsbergis called for nonviolent resistance. And both Estonia and Latvia declared their full independence from the Soviet Union.

By Tuesday evening the crowd surrounding the White House had swelled to 1,50,000 Women blocking one of the main roads to the White House held a banner saying : "Don't shoot us, We are your mothers and sisters." The Emergency Committee had announced an 11 p.m. curfew, but Muscovites defied the curfew and troops refused to enforce it. At midnight three civilians were killed near the Russian parliament building when a crowd clashed with armored vehicles at a barricade on the Moscowring road. Angry protesters threw Molotov cocktails and rocks at the military vehicles, setting one ablaze. That might three battalions of KGB troops were to have attacked the White House but the attack never came.

Internal divisions and indecision within the military and KGB were a major factor in the failure of the coup. Military officers refused to order an attack on the White House or on civilians. Troops in Moscow assured civilians they would not obey orders to shoot. Of the three military divisions sent into Moscow on Monday by the coup leaders, two of them defected to Yeltsin's side. With troops defecting, the coup leaders decided to send an elite KGB division into Mosco,but they never entered the city. Mutinies against the Defense Ministry were reported at the Leningrad Naval Base at a paratrooper training academy in Ryazan and in units on the Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin Island. Without the full co-operation of the military and KGB, the Emergency Committee was unable to impose its will by force. To have tried with the security forces divided would have invited civil war.

By Wednesday morning, the Emergency Committee was ready to give up. The Defence Ministry ordered troops to withdraw from Moscow and the Baltic capitals. That afternoon, a three-mile column of tanks and military vehicles could be seen leaving Moscow. At the same time, four of the coup leaders, Baklanov, Kryuchkov, Tizyakov and Yazov left Moscow on a plane bound for the Crimea in an attempt to meet with Gorbachev. A second plane with Yeltsin's emissaries on board left Moscow in pursuit. When the Emergency Committee members arrived at Gorbachev's dacha, they were arrested. The Soviet parliament nullified the coup decrees and demanded that Gorbachev be returned to power. On wednesday eveining Gorbachev announced to the nation that he was back in control. He and his family returned to Moscow after midnight. As for the coup leaders, seven were arrested and one pugo, committed suicide.

The failed coup sounded the death knell for both the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. Yeltsin ordered the party shut down across Russia. The party headquarters in Moscow was sealed off to preserve coup evidence. On Saturday, Gorbachev resigned as general secretary of the Communist party, ordered all party property to be turned over to the people and urged that the party be dissolved. The same day, the Ukrains, the second-largest Soviet republic with 52 million people, dealt a crushing blow to the USSR. It declared its independence, the sixth Soviet republic to do so. In the weeks that followed, one by one the remaining Soviet republics declared independence as well. On December 21, eleven of the former Soviet republics (Georgia and the Baltics did not participate) formed the Commonwealth of Independent States. Gorbachev resigned as president of the USSR on December 25, bringing the country's seventy-four-year history to a close.

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LESSION - 19

THEORY OF NON-VIOLENT ACTION

Introduction :

"Unlike Utopian advocates of nonviolent action do not seek to control" power by rejecting it or abolishing it. Instead they recongnize that power is inherent practically all social and political relationships and that its control is the basic problem in political theory and in political reality. They also see that it is necessary to wiled power in order to control the power threatening political groups regimes. That assumption they share with advocates of violence, though they par company with them on many other points:, write Dr, Gene Sharp.

Political Pawer : Defined

According to Robert M. Maclver social power may be defined at the capacity to control the behaviour of other directly or indiectly, through action by groups of people, which action impinges on other groups of people. Political power is that kind of social power which is wielded for political objectives, especially by governmental institutions or by people in oppostion to or in support of such institutions. Plitical power thus refers to the total authority, influence, pressure and coercion which may be applied to achive or prevent, the implemdentation of the wishes of the power-holder.

Basic Nature of Political Power : Two views :

Dr. Gene Sharp outlines two views of the nature of power: "One can see people as dependent upon the good will, the decision and the support of their government or of any other hierarctical system to which they belong Or, conversely one can see at government or system dependent on the people's good will, decision and support. One can see the power of government as emitted from the few who stand at the pinnacle of command. Or, one can see that power, in all governments, as continually rising from many parts of the society. One can also see power as self perpetuating, durable, not easily or quickly controlled or destroyed. Or political power can be viewed as fragile, always dependent for its strength and existence upon a repleninshment of its sources by the cooperation of a multitude of institutions and people co-operation or may not continue." The first view of power may be termed as "monolith theory" and the second one as "pluralistic dependency theory".

Monolith Theory of Power and Violence:

The "monolith" of power assumes that the power of a goernment is relatively fixed quantum (i.e. "a discrete unit quantity of energy"), a, 'given' a strong, independent, durable (if not indestructable), self-reinforcing and self-perpetuating force. Because of these assumed characteristics, it follows that in open conflict such power can not in the last analysis be controlled or destroyed simply by people but only by the threat or use of overwhelming physical might. The opponet's power may increase some what in the course of struggle, or it may be some what reduccd, But it is almost an axiom that in severe crises a hostile government's power may increase some what in the course of the struggle, or it may be some what reduced. But it is almost all that in severe crises a hostile government's power can be significantly reduced, obstructed or demolished only by destructive power-something like blasting chips or chunks off a solid stone

block with explosives until it has been brought down to size or obliterated. War is based on this view of the nature of political power faced with the actual or potential destruction of weapons cities industries, transport communication and the like, the enemy will be forced to accept a settlement or to surrender (unless he has the greater destructive capacity). Nuclear weapons are the extreme development of the approach to control and combat based on this monolith view of the nature of political power.

Dr. Gene Sharp further adds, "It is true that political power possesses the durability of a solid stone pyramid, then it would also be true that such power could only be controlled by the voluntary self-restraint of rulers, by changes in the 'ownership' of the monolith (the state) - whether with regular procedures (such as elections) or with irregular ones (regicide or coupld), or by destructive violence (conventional war). The monolith view would not allow for the possibility of other types of effective pressure and control. But the monolith view of a government's power is quite inaccurate and ignores the nature of the power of any rule or regime."

Pluralistic theory of power and nonviolence :

The Monolith theory is factually not true. All governments are dependent on the society they rule, even a regime which believes itself to be monolith, and appears to be one, can be weakened and shattered by the undermining and severance of the sources of Power, when people act upon the pluralistic theory of power.

Dr. Gene Sharp argues, "If the monolith theory is not valid but nevertheless forms the basic assumption of modern war and other types of control, the resulting underlying fallacy helps to explain why war and other control, have suffered from disadvantages and limitations. Relying on destructive violence to control political power is regarded by theories of nonviolent action as being just as irrational as attempting to use a lid to control steam from a caldron while allowing the fire under it to blaze uncontrolled. Nonviolent action is based on the view that political power can most efficiently be controlled at sources".

Social roots of political power :

Political decisions, events and problems cannot be isolated from the society in which they exist. A ruler wields power only because he is able to direct the behaviour of other people, draw on large resources human and material wield an apparatus of coercion and directs bureaucracy in the administration of his policies. All these components of political power are external to the person of power holder. The French writer Etienne de La Boetie in speaking of the power of a tyrant says, "He who abuses you so has only two eyes, has two hands, one body, and has naught but what has the least man of the great and infinite number of your cities, except for the advantage you give him to destroy you".Auguste comete transisted that the power of a ruler was variable and that it depended the degree to which the society granted him that power. Harold D. Lasswell writes, "Power is an interpersonal situation; those who hold power one empowered. They depend upon and continue only so long as there is a continuing stream of empowering responses, power is a process that vanishes when the supporting response ceases.

Sources of Power:

Political power appears to emerege from the interaction of a several of the following sources.

1. Authority

It may be defined as the right to command and direct, to be heard or obeyed by others, voluntarily accepted by the people and therefore existing without the imposition of sanction.

2. Human resources

A ruler's power is affected by the number of person who obey him, co-operate with him. or provide him with special assistance, as well as by the proportion of such persons in the general populaton and the extent and forms of their organisation.

3. Skills and Knowledge

The ruler's power is also affected by the skills, knowledge and abilities of such persons, and the relation of their skills, knowledge and abilities to his needs.

4. Intangible Factors

Psychological and ideological factors, such as habits and attitude forward obedience and submission and the presence or absence of a common faith, Ideology, or sense of mission, all affect the power of the ruler in relation to the people.

5. Material Sources

The degree to which the ruler controls property, natural resources the economic system, means of communication and transportation helps to determine the limits of his power.

6. sanctions

The final source of a ruler's power is the type and extent of sanctions at his disposal, both for use against his own subjects and in conflicts with other rulers.

Power and Obedience

A closer examination of the sources of the ruler's power will Indicate that they depend intimately upon the obedience and cooperation to the subject. The cooperation of the people, their contribution to the established system and the obedience of the Various wings of the government are essential for the continued power of the rulers. Thus obedience is at heart of political power. Every ruler uses the obedience and co-operation he receives from part of the society, to rule the whole.

why do people Obey ?

Actually there is no single-sufficient explanation for obedience to rulers. The reasons are various multiple, complex and interrelated different combination and proportions of reasons produce obedience in various situations.

1. Habit

Obedience has become a habit due to strong practice.

2. Fear of Sanctions

Fear of sanctions has been widely acknowledged as a source of obedience.

3. Moral Obligation

People feel a moral obligation to obey. This emerge from general world views, religious principles, mass-culture and conformity belief and traditions, custom, legitimacy of the command, brain washing etc.

4. Self interest

Incentives such as money, position and prestige in desired obedience. People's self-interest is often dominant over the social and long terms benefits.

5. Psychological identification with the Ruler

People's close identification with the regime, system or ruler may result in cooperation and obedience.

6. Zones of Indifference:

People may be indifferent to the ruler. This is indirect way of cooperating with the ruler. Indifference is indirect cooperation in many cases.

7. Absence of Self-confidence among the Subjects

The subjects may feel that they were all insignificant and can do nothing as individuals. Such an attitude makes them, silent. The culture of silence is enriching the power of the ruler.

Disobedience is at the Heart of Nonviolence:

Obedience is essentially voluntary and at times it is forced. The individual has abolute freedom to withdraw his/her consent. If this can be done effectvely., the power structure will collapse sooner or later. The nonviolent action entirely depends on this promise. Thuson-violent action is essentialy "disobedience and withdrawal of consent".

Obtaining the Rulers, Functionaries and Agents :

Every ruler uses the obedience and co-operation he receives from part of the society to rule the whole. He has to depend on the army police, subordinates, functionaries and agents who are interowen into a hierarchical sytem. All the above mentioned seven factors operate in making up the culture of obedience. Among is key section of the populartion as well. Apart from the moral obligation to obey and to provide help self-interest also plays a disproportionately large role. Boetle says that there may be as many people for whom tyranny seems profitable as those to whom liberty would be agreeable', Many in this group have a vested interest in the continuation of the established regimes. Except in the case of soldiers-there too it is not at all certain-Violent sanctions are not decisive in obtaining the special assistance of functionaries and agents, other motives predominate.

Obedience is not Inevitable :

Dr. sharp writes; obedience to a ruler's command, though usual, is not inevitable. It always varies in degree with the individual concerned and with the social and political situation.

Obedience is never universally practised by the whole population. Many people sometimes disobey the law. Some people do so frequently. The degree of general compliance varies widely. At any given point in a given society there are limits within which a ruler must stay, his commands are to be obeyed. These limits are subject to change througout the history of a society. It follows that under certain conditions subjects may be willing to put up with inconvenience suffering and distruption of their lives rather than continue to submit passively or to obey a ruler whose policies they can no longer tolerate.

The Roots of Consent :

The obedience is often influenced by pressures, controls and repression bu it is also voluntary obedience is not constant. It depends on a number of variables.

The sanctions do not automatically produce obedience. The voluntary consent plays a key role. Such a view has been supported by widely diverse political thinkers and actionists. Austin says. "Every government continues through the people's consent". William Godwin writes; they are willing to be subject. All governments is founded in opinion" Adolf Hitler says, "For, in the long run, government systems are not held together by the pressure of force, but rather by the belief in the quality and truthfulness with which they represent and promote the interests of the people".

Consent is also due to the inability or unwillingness to pay the price for the refusal of consent, Refusal requires self confidence and the motivation to resist and may involve considerable inconvenience and social disruption, to say nothing of suffering.

Leo Tolstoy's insights in the the nature of all government may be seen from the following quotation.

'A commerical company enslaved a nation comprising two hundred millions. Tell this to a man free from superstution and be will fail to grasp what these words mean. What does it mean that thirty thousand men-have subdued two hundred million...? Do not the figures make it clear that it is not the English who have enslaved the Indians, but he Indians who have themselves".

Consent can be withdrawn

If the consent is withdrawn, the government. which is built upon it, falls to the ground. Gandhi argues need for" 1) a psychological change away from passive submission to self-respect and courage: 2) recognition by the subject that this assistance makes regime possible: and 3) the building of determination to withdraw co-operation and obedience.;

LESSON - 20

METHODS OF SATYAGRAHA

I Non violent Protest and Persuasion

II Social Non Cooperation

III Economic Non Cooperation

IV Political Non Cooperation

V Non Violent Intervention

These five are a fine summary of Dr. Gene Sharp's *Politics of Nonviolent Action* Part II, done by the author.

I. NON VIOLENT PROTEST AND PERSUASION

Nonviolent action "works" in very special ways which must be grasped if the technique itself is to be understood evaluated intelligently, and applied most effectively. These ways diverge significantly from popular assumptions about conflict and struggle-in particular the assumption that violence can be effectively met only with violence.

Nonviolent action is designed to operate against opponents who are able and willing to use violent sanctions. There is no assumption in this technique that such opponents will, when faced with nonviolent action, suddenly renounce their violence, or even that they will consistently restrict their use of violent repression;

However, the use of nonviolent means against violent repression creates a special, asymmetrical, conflict situation, in which the two groups rely on contrasting techniques of struggle, or "weapons systems-one on violent action. the other on nonviolent action. To have the best chance of success, the nonviolent actionsts must stick with their chosen technique. An extensive, determined, and skillful application of nonviolent action will cause the opponent very special problems, which will disturb or frustrate the effective utilization of his own forces. The actionists will then be able to apply something like jiu-jitsu to their opponent, throwing him off balance politically, causing his repression to rebount, against his position, and weakening his power. Furthermore, by remaining nonviolent while continuing the struggle, the actionists will help to improve their own power position in several ways.

DEFYING REPRESSION

There should be no dismay or surprise at repression: it is often the result of the opponent's recognition that the nonviolent action is a serious threat to his policy or regime. Nonviolent actionists must be willing to risk punishment as a part of the price of victory. They severity and chances of repression will vary. This risk is not unique to nonviolent action however. There are also risks when both sides use violence-some similar to and some different from those faced by nonvilent actionists. One difference is that in violent action, risks are incurred in the course of attempting to injure or kill the opponents, while in nonviolent action this is not the case. Some peple erroneously understand that the nonviolent group is helpless. This is not true. This difference in the treatment of the opponent should not lead to feelings of importence or frustration. This is especially true if the nonvio-

lent. actionist understands that maintenance of nonviolent discipline makes it more possible for him to gain increased control over the opponent reduce the violence aginst the nonviolent group, and increase the chances of winning.

The nonviolent actionist's delberately refuse to challenge the opponent on his own level of violince. Violence aginst violence is reinforcing. The nonviolent group not only does not need to use violence. but it must not do so lest it strengthen its opponent and weaken itself. The nonvionlent group must adhere to its own nonvionlent "weapons system" because nonviolent action tends to turn the opponent's violence and repression against his own power position weakening it and at the same time strengthening the nonviolent group.

Repression of a nonviolent group which nevertheless persists in struggle and also maintains nonviolent discipline may have the following effects. As cruelties to nonviolent people increase, the opponent's regime may appear still more despicable, and sympathy and support for the nonviolent side may increase. The general population may become more alienated from the oppent and more likely to join the resistance. Persons deviated from the immediate conflict may show increased support for the victims of the repression. Although the effect of national and internationl public opinion varies, it may at times lead to significant political and economic pressures. The opponet's own citizens, agents, and troops, disturbed by the brutalities against nonviolent people, may beigin to doubt the justice of the policies. Their initial uneasiness may grow into internal dissent and at times even into such action as strikes and mutinies. Thus, if repression increases the numbers of non violent actionists and enlarges defiance, and if it leads to sufficient interal oppostion among an opponent's usual supporters to reduce capacity to deal with the defiance, it will clearly have rebounded against the opponent. This is political jiu jitsu at work.

The opponent's difficulties in coping with nonviolent action do not depend on being surprised by the nonviolence or on unfamiliarity with the technique. The opponet's knowledge of the operation of nonviolent struggle, for example, does not on its own provide the capacity to defect the actionists: as in military confilicts, both sides may seek to utilize for their own ends knowledge of the technique of struggle they are using. With more knowledge the opponent may become more sophisticated, and perhaps less cruel. But then nonviolent group also may learn how to struggle more skilfully and effectively.

A NONVIOLENT WEAPONS SYSTEM

Whether the nonviolent actionsts can effectively block the opponet's will and make it impossible to carry out the original plans even with the aid of repression, hings on the capactiy of the nonviolent actionists to continue their struggle by the use of their own "weapon system". These "weapons" or specific methods of opposition are also capable of altering the selected social, economic, or political relationships, whether are not changes in the balance of force also produced by political jit-jitsu. There are a multitude of such methods, which collectively constitute the technique of nonviolent action;.

Such a classification is useful in a number of ways. For one thing. it assists us understanding better the nature of nonviolent technique, while also revealing very clearly the important distinctions and classes which exist within it. Some methods are basically symbolic actions, some

involve a withdrawal of particular types of cooperation, others are largely direct interventions in a conflict situation, Classfication also reveals the very large number and variety of methods of action the technique encomoassess. The present listing is certainly not exhausive. Such a listing may assists actionsts in the selection of methods most appropriate for use in a particular situation. It may also give groups faced with nonviolent oppostion an idea of the methods which may be used aginst them, possibly reducing nervousness and brutalies. In addition, the list may give researchers tools for analysis and comparisons and persons evaluating the political potentialities of the nonviolent technique a greatet grasp of its various of methods of struggle.

The broad classification of the particular methods of action under the general categories of protest and persuasion, noncooper atim and intervention ought not to be regarded as rigid, but simply as generally valid. Neither should the listing of specific methods be regarded as complete for all time. Doubtless some have been missed altogether, and a number of unlisted variations exist on those methods which are included. Perhaps more important, new forms of nonviolent action may be deliberately developed in the course of struggle.

Which methods will be used in a particular case, and how many of them, will vary widely depending on such factors as: 1) the culture and traditions of the people involved; 2) th extent and depth of the knowledge of, and experience with, methods of nonviolent action possessed by the genreal population, the direct participants in the struggle, and their leaders; 3) the general social and political situation; 4) the degree of repression which the general population, the actionists, and the leaders are prepared to suffer; 5) the nature of the opponent's objectives; 6) the resources at the opponent's disposal (including the administrative system agents of repression and so on); 7) the degree of ruthlessness the opponent is prepared to use; 8) the degree of the opponent's dependence on members of the nonviolent opposition;9) the numbers of participating actionists and the degree of support they receive from the population; 10) the quality of the actionists and leaders; 11) the nature of the grievance; and 12) the physical details of the sepecific situation in which action is contemplated.

Let us now trun to an exmination of our first category of the methods of this technique; nonviolent protest and persuasion.

NONVIOLENT PROTEST AND PERSUASION

Nonviolent protest and persuasion is a large class of mainly symbolic actions of peaceful opposition or of attempted persuasion extending beyond verbal expressions but stopping short of noncooperation or nonviolent intervention. Among these methods are parades, vigils, picketing, posters, teaching, mourning, and protest mettings.

Their use may simply show that the actionists are against something; for example, picketing may express opposition to a law which restricts dissemination of birth control information. The methods of this class may also be applied for something; for example, group lobbying may support overseas aid or a clean-air bill pending in the legislature, Nonviolent protest and persuasion also may express deep personal feelings or moral condemnation on a social or political issue; for example, a vigil on Hiroshima Day may express penance for the American atomic bombing of that Japaness city. The "something" which the nonviolent protesters may be concerned with may be a particular deed, a law, a policy, a general condition, or a whole regime or system.

The act mav be intended primarily to influence the opponet. It may do this by arousing attention and publicity for the issue and thereby, it is hoped, support, which may convince the opponent to accept the change. Or, the influence may come by the warning of the depth or extent of feeling on the issue which is likely to lead to more severe action if a change is not made. Or, instead the act may be intended primarily to communicate with the public, onlookers or third parties, directly or though publicity, in order to arouse attention and support for the desired change. Or, the act may be intended primarily to influnece the grievance group - the persons directly affected by the issual-to induce them to do something themselves, such as participate in a strike or an economic boycott. A method of nonviolent protest and persuasion such as pilgrimage may also be associated with some other type of activity, such as collections of money for famine victims. Certain mild methods of this class are intended to persuade in order to produce a stronger action by someone also: leafleting may be aimed at inducing participation in an economic boycott, and fraternization within the context of resistance may be intended to help induce later mutiny by occupation soldiers, for example.

In summary, with the context of this case of methods, emphasis may be paced on being for or against something; the grievances may be diverse; the group to whom the act is primarily directed may very; the types of influence will differ; the intended result may range widely; the act may be an independent one or closely combined with some other method for methods of nonviolent action.

Behaviour in such demonstrations clearly extends beyond personal versal experssions or opinion, either by reason of the corporate nature of the act or the form of action or, in a few cases, the circumstances which give an individual act a corporate significance. Yet the methods of nonviolent; protest and persuasion usally remain (unless combined with other methods) expressions in action of a point of view, or an attempt in action to influence others to accept a point of view or to take a certain action. This is distinguished from the social, economic, or political pressures imposed by noncooperations or nonviolent intervention. There are political cirucmstance in which some of the forms of nonviolent protest, such as marches, for example, are illegal. Under such circumstances their practice would merge the method with civil disobedience and possibly other forms of political noncooperation,

The impact of these methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion. which depend on influencing the attributes of someone, will vary considerably. It is possible that where a particular method is common, Its impact on any one occasion may be less than may be the case where the method has hitherto been rate or unknown. The political conditions in which it occury are also likely to influence its impact, with dictatorial conditions making an act of nonviolent protest less possible more dangerous, and rarer; hence, if it does occur, the act may be more dramatic and gain greater attention than it would where the act is common or carries no penalty. Demonstrations of protest and persuasion may precede or accompany acts of noncooperation or nonviolent intervention, or may be practiced in their absence.

What, then, are the specific methods of nonviolent action which may be classified as nonviolent protest and persuasion? Fity-four methods are included in this listing; they are grouped here in ten subclasses.

Formal statements :

1. Public speeches : Spontaneous or prepared talks, discourses format addresses, or sermons openly delivered in order to exprese protest.

2. Letters of oppostion or support : Private letters which become public knowledge, multiple letters, and "open letters" singed by individuals, a series of people, or groups sent to an individual or Institution, which convey a political viewpoint or a declaration of intention: these are transformed from private communications into public by the status or number of writers or signatories or by the political context.

3. Declarations by organizations and institutions : Official statements of opposition to, or of support, for policies, actions, or regimes issued by organizations and institutions of the society, such as trade unions, professional societies, political, or religious groups (as pastoral letters).

4. Signed public statements : A written declaration directed primarily to the general public, or additionally to the opponent which is released with the signatures of endorsers who may sign on behalf of partcular organizations or may sign only as individuals belonging to selected occupations professions, residential areas, or other criterion.

5. Declarations of indictment or intension : Written statements of grievance or of intention to change a situation, or both, which are of such a quality, or which receive such a response from the public or the opponent that the statement itself becomes influential in influencing people's loyalties and behavior.

6. Group or mass petition : A written request or supplication seeking redress of a spacific, grievance, signed by a large number of, individual, or by a smaller number of representatives on behalf of organizations, institutions, or constituencies.

Communications with a wider Audience :

7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols: Brief written, painted, drawn, printed, mimed, gestured, or repeatedly spoken communications of opinions and veiws.

8. Banners, posters, and displayed proclumations : Written painted, or printed communications intended to convey a viewpoint or objective to a wider public or to members of the opponent group.

9. Leaflets pamphlets and books : Publication and distribution of leaflets, pamphlets, or books during conditions of political repression and struggle when such items have as their main purpose the expression of view about controversial policies or against the regime as a whole.

10. Newspapers and journals : Legal and illegal periodicals used to promote the views and causes of the groups issuing them or articles and advertisements in regular publications used to communicate views, arouse support, and express oppostion.

11. Records, radio, and Television : Special uses of these media to convey ideas, discuss, issues, present positions, communicate resistance messages, and the like, through much, speeches, declarations, or other means.

12. skywriting and earthwriting : Words or symbols communicated to people across large distances by "writing" them in the sky by airplane or earth by plowing the soil, planting contrasting crops, trees, etc, or arranging rocks, shrubs, and the like as words for symbols, especially on hills or mountains.

Group representations

13. Deputation : Protest against an existing policy, or support for a new one, expressed by a group of self selected individuals or of representatives of formal groups, who meet with an official or staff person responsible for a grievance or able to act to make a change.

14. Mock award : A satitical formal presentation (as "polluter of the year") given to opponents in order to publicize grievances or to appeal to the recipient to correct the problem.

15. Group lobbying : The gathering of people to visit their legislative representatives to press them to support or oppose a certatin measure in such large numbers that the assemblage becomes a demonstration.

16. Picketing Standing, sitting, or walking back and forth at a place related to an issue in contention to express protest, or to presuade others to do so, or not to do a particular act (as work or purchase a product).

17. Mock election : An extra-legal election or direct popular balloting (using special polling places or canvassing) on a topical issue, organized as a means of protest, especially when there is only limited or no access to an electoral system.

Symbolic Public Acts

18. Display of flags and symbolic colors : Exhibiting the flags colors of a national, religious, social, or political group, or the flag or colors with other symbolism (as mourning or disapproval) to convey protest or identify loyalties.

19. Wearing of symbols : Deliberate alteration in some way of one's appearance to communicate dissent or protest, as by wearing of an item of clothing, a color, a badge, a flower, or the like

20. Prayer and worship : Prayer and worship so conducted that the participants in their religious act express moral condemnation and even political protest.

21. Delivery of symbolic objects : The delivery to the appropriate offical or office of object which symbolizes a grievance or an objective of the protesters.

22. Protest disrobings : The public removal of clothes as a means of expressing one's religious disapproval or political protest.

23 Destruction of own property: The voluntary destruction of one's own property to demonstrate the intensity of feelings of oppostion, being careful to remove to safety all persons in advance to aviod risk of physical harm to anyone.

24. Symbolic lights : Torches, lanterns, or candles carried protest parades, marches or other protest in activities.

25. Display of protaraits : The public exhibition of pictures of resistance heroes or other persons who symbolize the objectives of the action movement in order to communicate to others one' political loyalties.

26. Paint as protest : The use of paint in limited wayas not inflicting permanent damage to the object in order symbolically to communicate a viewpoint.

27. New signs and names : Erection of signs where there have been none, or replacement of old street names with new names of symbolic significance, as "renaming" a street during a military occupation in honor of a resistance hero.

28. Symbolic sound : Oral or mechanical sounds unsed to convey ideas in a confict situation, such as bells, animal sounds, whistles, or sirens.

29. Symbolic reclamation : An illustrative attempt temporarily to reclaim land or buildings currently under disapproved use or ownership by an activity which suggests an alternative use of the property which might be widely approved.

30. Rude gesture : The use of bodily movements to convey an offensive opinion or deliberate insult in situations of social, political, or internaional conflict.

Pressures on Individuals

31. "Haunting" officials : The action of nonviolent volunteers in following or remaining constantly near officials everywhere they go with the intent of reminding them of the "immorality" of their be havior (as in repressing a nonviolent resistance movement), and of the determination and fearlessness of the population.

32. Taunting officials : Mocking and Insulting officials, either at a certain place or following them for a period of time.

33. Fraternization : Friendly personal behavior by partcipants in nonviolent struggle toward soldiers, police, etc., of the opponent while deliberately subjecting them to intense influence and direct or indirect propaganda.

34. Vigil : An action in which people remain in a particular place over an extended period of time to express a point of veiw and make an appeal usually addressed to a wide public.

Drama and Music

35. Humorous skits and pranks : Political satire expressed in a social from such a humorous prank, a skit, or a play, there by becoming an act of public political protest.

36. Performence of plays and music : The performance of particular plays, or of music such as operas or concerts, under certain political conditions in which the performance constitutes protest.

37. Singing : Singing under conditions which cause the action constitute protest; example, singing during an unwanted speech; singing defiant national, political, or religious songs singing songs of satire or protest, rival programs to compete with boycotted ones; and singing during an act of protest or resistance.

Processions

38. March : A group of people walking in protest in an organized manner to a place which is regarded as significant to the issue involved.

39. Parade : A group of people walking in an organized manner to call attention to their grievance or point of view qualities. without the point of rermination being of intrinsic significance to the demonstrationj. as it is to the march.

40. Religious procession : A march or parade with religious pictures or symbols may be carried, religious songs may be sung, and clergy, monks, or nuns may prticipate.

41. Pilgrimage : A procession lasting for a few days or many months of one or more persons walking (1) to bring a message to people,(2) to express penance for a deed or policy of a people or government, or (3) as a means of self-dedication to their cause (as seeking social change).

42. Motorcade : The driving of motor vehicles. Usually posters or banners, in a procession at a very slow speed to convey a viewpoint.

Honoring the Dead

43. Political mourning : Use of symbols normally used to mourn the death of an individual applied to express political opposition and sadness about events or policies, sometimes beginning in connection with an actual death and sometimes not.

44. Mock 'funeral' : A staged "funeral" of some principle - such as "justice"or "freedom" - which the demonstrators accuse the opponent of violating.

45. Demonstrative funeral : A funeral service or more often a walking funeral procession for persons killed by a political opponent, conducted so as to express protest and moral condemnation of the opponent's actions, policies, or system.

46. Homage at burial places : A visit to burial places by a large number of people, or by a series of individulas and small groups expressing political protest and moral condemnation when the dead have been associated with the cause of the current struggle or killed by the opponent.

Public Assemblies

47. Assembly of protest or support : A public gathering of a group of people to express opposition to, or support for, the policies or acts of a government or public figure.

48. Protest meetting; A gathering of people-which may vary widely in size and nature-to express opposition or support for particular policies actions causes or organizations.

49. Camouflaged meeting of protest : A gatenring of protest held under the (sometimes undisguised) protense that the gathering is for some other legal and approved purpose.

50. Teach in : A public meeting on a topic of current interest in which various viewpoints are presented among the speakers and those attending.

Witdrawal and Renuciation

51. Walk-out : The expression of political objections by a croup of persons, a delegation, or even an individual, by physically leaving a meeting, conference, or assembly while it is in session.

52. Silence : Collective silence used to express moral condemnation.

53. Renouncing honors : The giving up of special honors or the refusal of new ones bestowed by the voernment or other institution which is opposed.

54. Turning one's back : Silent disapproval emphasized by physically turning one's back (whether standing or sitting) to the person or group that is opposed.

These latter methods have shown symblic withdrawal of cooperation with the opponent. The overwhelming majority of the methods of nonviolent action, however are more substantial forms of action in which people refuse to begin new cooperation of some type with an opponent, or in which they with draw some type of cooperation which they have previously been providing. It is to these methods to which our attention now turns.

SOCIAL NONCOOPERATION

Overwhelmingly, the methods of nonviolent action involve noncooperation with the opponent. That is, the actionists deliberately withdraw the usual forms and degree of their cooperation with the person, activity, institution, or regime with which they have become enagaged in conflict, People may, for example, totally ignore members of the oppostion group. looking through them as though they did not exist. They may refuse to buy certain products, or they may stop work. They may disobey laws they regard as immoral, sit down in the streets, or refuse to pay taxes. The actionists condust their struggle by reducing or ceasing their usual cooperation, or by withholding new forms of sassistance, or both; this produces, a slowing or halting of normal operations. In other words, noncooperation involves the deliberate discotinuance, withholding, or defiance of certain existing relationships-social, economic, or political, The action may be spontaneous or planned in advance, and it may be legal or illegal.

The Methods of noncooperation are divided below into three main classes : (1) methods of social *noncooperation* (which include social boycotts); (2) methods of *economic noncooperation* (which are subdivided into economic boycotts and strikes) and (3) methods of *political noncooperation* (which might also be called the methods of the political boycott).

The first of these classes, the methods of social noncooperation, in volves a refusal to carry on normal social relations, either paticular or general, with persons or groups regarded as having perpetrated some wrong or injustice, or to comply with certain behavior patterns of social practices. in addition to the methods of social noncooperation listed here, others are likely to emerge from reflection, research, and invention. The fifteen separate methods included here in this at present the smallest, class of nonviolent action methods, are grouped in three subclasses.

Ostracism of persons

55. *Social boycott :* Refusal to continue usual social relations with the disapproved or opposed persons by not speaking to them and not interacting with them in any other way.

56. *Selective social boyciott* : A type of social boycott which is restricted to one or more particular types of relationship.

57. *Lysistratic nonaction* : The refusal or sexual relations with spouses in order to induce them to do, or to cease doing, something.

58. *Excommunication* : Exclusive of an individual or group from membership. privileges, and participation in a religious group by decision of its leadership.

59. *Interdict* : Suspension by church officials of religious services. sacraments, and rites to the population of a given territory for a specified period as a sanction.

Noncooperation with Social Events, Customs and institutions

60. *Suspension of social and sports activities* : The cancellation or refusal to arrange social and sports activities.

61. *Boycott of social affairs* : A corporate refusal to attend certain social affaris, such as receptions, banquets, parties, of concerts.

62. *Student strike* : Temporary refusal as a means of protest or resistance by students to attend classes.

63. *Social disobedience* : Violation of social customs, or disdience to rules, regulations, or practices of a nongovernmental social institution, such as religious body, club, or economic organization.

64. *Withdrawal from social Institutions* : Resignation from membership in a social institution, or withholding participation in it while maintaining membership, in order to protest the current policy of the institution.

Withdrawal from the Social System

65. *Stay-at home* : Deliberated action by the population as a whole to remain in their homes as political protest, either aftetr working hours only or during a strike for two, or more days.

66. *Total personal noncooperation* : The refusal as protest or resistance by a prisoner to do anything, almost literally, except breathe.

67. *"Flight" of workers* : A cessation of work combined with people leaving their homes to go to to some other place without stating in advance demands or conditions for their return.

68. *Sanctuary* : Withdrawal by an individual or, more often, by a group of people important to the opponent to a place of refuge where they cannot be touched without violation or religious, moral social or legal prohibitions.

69. Collective disappearance : The severance of all social contact with the opponent by the population of a small area, such as a village, "disappearing|" and abandoning their homes and area.

70. protest emigration ("hijrat") : Expression of extreme disapproval by deliberate migration from the jurisdiction of the State which the resisters believe to be responsible for certain injustices or oppression.

The more usual forms of noncooperation in modern societies, however, are not social but economic and sometimes political. It is to the main types of economic noncooperation to which we now turn our attention.

ECONOMIC NONCOOPERATION : (1) ECONOMIC BOYCOTTS

Economic forms of noncooperation are much more numerous than the forms of social noncooperation, identified above. Economic noncooperation consists of a suspension of or refusal to continue specific economic relationships. The first subclass within the broad class of economic noncooperation is that of economic boycotts - the refusal to continue or to undertake certain economci relationships, especially the buying, sellgin, or handling of goods and services. The second subclass consists of various forms of the strike, which involves the restriction or suspension of labour. The next chapter is devoted to the strike, while our focus here is no economic boycotts.

Economic boycott may be spontaneous, or they may be deliberately initiated a particular groups. In either case, they usually become organized efforts to withdraw, and to induce others to withdraw economic cooperation in ways which restrict the buying or selling market of an individual or group. Although the word "boycott; did not come into use until 1880, when it originated with the name of a Captain. Boycott aganist whom the peasants of Mayo Country, Ireland, were protesting, examples of this method of noncooperation, go back much earlier. The boycott has been practiced on local, regional,. national, and international levels both by persons direcltly involved in the grievance and by sympathetic third parties. Motivations and objectives have varied from economic and political to social and cultural.

Economic boycotts have been practised mainly in labour struggles and national liberation movement, although their use in other situations is not unknown. The economic boycott in industrial disputes had its origin in the American trade union movement, where it emerged in 1880 "almost without warning.... to become for the next ten or fifteen years the most effective weapon of unionism. There was no object so mean and no person so exelted as to escapr its power"[2]

Economic boycotts for nationalist objectives aganist foreign powers appear to have been most frequently used in China; those cases seem to have drawn upon earlier Chinese experience in economic noncoopertaion, as professor John K. Fairbank suggests. He writes that "in Chinese life the boycott had been a widely used form of passive resistance, or nonviolent coercion, by which organized groups such as merchant guilds could exert their influence upon officialdom. In the twentieth century they began to be used as expressions of anti-foreignism". As examples he cites the boycott of American produts sponsored in 1905 by the merchant guilds of Canton in protest against the exclusion the merchant guilds of Canton in protest against the exclusion of Chinese from the United States, the boycotts of Japanese goods in 1908 and 1915 in protest against the country's policies, and prolonged boycott and strike against the British which began in Hong Kong in 1925[4].

One way to viewing economic boycotts is to divide them into primary and secondary boycotts. The primary boycott is the direct suspension of dealings with the opponent or a refusal to buy, or handle his good and services (sometimes accompanied by efforts to persuade others to

do likewise. The secondary boycott id the economic boycott of third parties. In an efforts to induce them to join in the primary boycott aganist the opponent. it occurs "where those who fall to support the original movement are themselves boycott"[5] Leo Wolman defines a secondary boycott as "a combination to withdraw his partonage from a person in order to force that person in turn to withdraw his patronage from that individual or firm with whom the union is primarily at odds."[6]

Since the term "economic boycott" covers a considerable variety of specific acts, it is desirable to subdividethe classification; this can most usefully be done in terms of the nature of the ground responsible (at least primarily so) for conducting the boycott. This classification should nor be regarded as rigid, however, for one type often blends into another, and frequently several methods or action by several groups, may be combined. Economic boycotts may also be combined with a great variety of other methods of nonviolent action.

Action by Consumers

71. *Consumer's boycott :* A group refusal by consumers in significant numbers to purchase , certain goods or services.

72. *Nonconsumption of boycotted goods :* Refusal to use boycotted products that are already in one's possession.

73. *Policy of austerity* : The voluntary giving up of luxuries as part of nonviolent action struggle.

74. *Rent withholding :* Individual or collective refusal or persons already renting property to pay futher rent to protest or resist a grievance against the landlord.

75. *Refusal to rent :* The refusal by the potential tanant to rent an unoccupied residence or land, etc., as part of a collective action of noncooperation.

76. *National consumer's boycott* : A refusal by a major part of the people of a single country to buy specific goods or services, all goods and services from the foreign country with which they are in conflict, or foreign products in general.

77. *International consumer's boycott* : A consumers, boycott operating in several countries aganist the products of a particul as country because of a grievance.

Action by Workers and Producers

78. *Workman's boycott* : A refusal by workers to use supplies or tools which have been manufactured under conditions to which they object, especially conditions seen as harmful to organized labour.

79. *Producer's boycott :* Refusal by producers to sell (or otherwise deliver) their product; also called a "selling strike".

Action by Middlemen

80. *Suppliers' and handlers' boycott* : Refusal by workers and or "middlemen" (wholesalers, jobbers, and distributors) to handle or supply certain goods.

Action by Owners and Management

81. *Lrader's boycott :* A refusal by retailers, actng individually or colletively. to boy or sell certain goods.

82. *Refusal to let or sell property :* The refusal of owners of various types of buildings and other property to rent or sell them of member of certain groups.

83. *Lockout :* Action by an employer temporarily to close down operations in an attemept to force employees to submit to the employer's policies.

84. *Refusal of industrial assistance :* Economic or political opposition expressed by refulas of owners, managers, employed technicians, or the like to provide economic or techinical assistance or advice to an opponent.

85. *Merchants, "general strike" :* A simulataneous closing by the merchants in a city, region, or country of stores and business.

Action by Holders of Financial Resources

86, *Withdrawal of bank deposits :* Removal of money deposited in private or govenment banks or in governments savings systems in order to protest symbolically or to undermine further an already weakened government.

87. *Refusal to pay fees, dues and assessements :* The deliberate refusal by individuals, groups, or governments to pay fees, dues or assessements to a private organization, public institution, government, or international body.

88. *Refusal to pay debts or interest :* Deliberate nonpayment of debts, or rarely only the interest due.

89. *Severance of funds and credit :* Deliberate cutting off of the opponent's sources of money, such as salaries, appropriations, loans, and investments.

90. Revenue refusal : The refusal voluntary to provide the government with revenue, including taxes, license fees, or rents. or refusal to purchase taxed items or patronize government loans bonds, or savings programs.

91. *Refusal of a government's money :* Refusal as a political act to accept a government's printed money and coinage either completely or in all but minor transactions.

Action by Governments

92. *Domestic embargo :* An economic boycott initiated and enforced by the government to operate with in the country of that government.

93. *Blacklisting of traders :* The prohibition by government action, druing wartime or an embargo, of trade with firms or individuals in order to block indirect transfer of embargoed goods to the enemy country itself.

94. *International sellers' embargo :* A refusal on the basis of government decision to sell certain, or any, products to one or more countries.

95. *International buyer's embargo :* The prohibition by government decision of general or particular purchases and importation of goods from a specific country.

96. *International trade embargo :* A combination of the international seller's embargo and the international buyer's embargo.

A very large number of methods of economic noncooperation invlove the withdrawal of labour, and we now turn to the various methods of the strike.

ECONOMIC NONCOOPERATION : (2) THE STRIKE

The second general subclass of methods of economic noncooperation is the strike. The strike involves a refusal to continue economic cooperation through work. It is a collective, deliberate, and normally temporary suspension of labour designed to exert pressure on others within the same economic, political, and (sometimes) social or cultural unit. That is to say, though the issues are normally economic, they are not necessarily so, even though the means of action are economic. The aim of a strike is to produce by this leverage some change in the relationships of the conflicting groups. Usually this takes the form of granting of certain demands made by the strikers as a precondition for their resumption of work. It is the collective nature of the strikes which gives this type of noncooperation its characteristics and power. Strikes are largely associated with modern industrial organization, they also occur, however, in agricultural conflicts and within various institutions. Strikes are possible whatever people work for someone else.

Strikes are almost always specific, in the sense of being *for* or *against* somthing which is important to the strikers. In theory any number of workers might act together to produce a strike, but in practice the number of strikers must be sufficiently large to distrupt seriously or to make impossible continued operation of at least that economic unit. As with the other powerful forms of nonviolent action, and with violence, the mere threat of a serious strike may be sufficient to induce concessions from the opponent group. Strikes may be soontaneous or planned. "official" (authorized by the unions) or "wildcat" (not authorized by the unions)

The motives for strikes very considerably Economic motives which include wages. working conditions, union reconcognition, and hours, have been predominant. Even these types of strikes may be directed aganist a government agency, though an employer is usually the target. political and social aims may accompany economic objectives or may be independent of them. Those wider issues may take many forms.

Some methods of the strike also have one or more characteristics of another class of methods (or do under certain conditions) or differ in at least one respect from the general characteristics of the strike. Normally, the strike is a temporary withdrawal of labor, but there are methods in which the withdrawal is, or at least is intended to be, permanet. Also, some methods are combinations of economic boycotts and strikes. Other methods operate by withdrawing labour but do so only symbolically. There of the groupings which follow (symbolic strikes, restrictive strikes, and combinations of strikes and economic boycotts) consist of borderline forms, These are often some of the resher, more imaginative ones. The methods of the strike are listed under seven subclasses.

Symbolic Strikes

97. Protest strike : A work-stoppage for a preannounced short period (a minute, a day, or even a week) to express the workers' views on an issue without set demands being made; also called a "token strike" and a 'demonstration strike".

98. Quickle walkout : A short, spontaneous protest strike to "let off steam" or to protest a relatively minor issue; called a "lightning strike" in England.

Agricultural Strikes

99. Peasant strike : A collective refusal by peasants to continue to work on the properties of their landlords.

100. *Farm workers' strike :* A strike by farm laborers hired for wages.

Strikes by Special Groups

101. Refusal of impressed labor: Open noncooperation by a population group to a leavy requiring it to supply certain physical work to others or the government.

102. Prisoners strike ; Refusal by prisoners to do work required of them by prison officials.

103. Craft strike : A strike by the workers of a single craft, in contrast to a whote industry.

104. Professional strike : A strike by salaried persons in a particular learned or skilled vocation, or by self-employed persons.

Ordinary industrial Strikes

105. Establishment strike ; A strike by all workers in one or more plants or other units operated by a single management, regardless of the workers' crafts or the location of their job.

106. Industry strike : A work-stoppage in all establishements of an industry (such as mining, telephone, printing, or steel in a given area.

107. Sympathetic strike : A strike by one group of workers to support the demands of another group of workers.

Restricted Strikes

108. Detailed strike : Any piecemeal work-stoppage by workers engaged in a dispute, as by individual workers in a single plant or single plants in an industry cumulatively increasing to the full work force.

109. Bumper stike : Action by a multi-firm union which strikes firm at a time to achieve a serious of specific settlements by concentrating union strength on each struck firm while exposing it to the competition of its operating rivals in the industry.

110. Slowdown strike : Workers deliberately reducing the pace of their work so as to restrict drastically their production.

111. Working-to-rule strike : The literal and meticulous carrying out of orders and all rules and reguilations of the employer, union, and contract so as to retard production and reduce the employer's profits.

112. Reporting "sick" (Sick-in) : Workers staying away from work and reporting that they are ill, when they are not to put economic pressure on the employer.

113. Strike by resignation : Submission of individual resignations from positions by a significant proportion of the personnal involved in a dispute.

114. Limited Strike : Worker's refusal to do certain marginal work (within or beyond required working hours) or to work on certain days, while continuing of perform most of their normal duties.

115. Selective strike : Worker's refusal only to do certain types of work, often because of a political objection.

Multi-industry Strikes

116. Generalized strike : A widespread strike by less than a majority of the workers in the important industries of the area of country expressing a general grievance.

117. General strike : A general work stoppage by a majority of the workers in the more important industries of an area a country intended to bring the economic life of that area to a complete standstill

Combinations of strike and Economic closures

118. "Hartal" : A temporary voluntary suspension of the economic life of an area usually a city. to demonstrate extreme dissatisfaction used in India.

119. Economic shutdowm : A suspension of the economic activities of a city, area, or country on a sufficient scale to produce economic paraysis by action of workers, management, and shopkeepers.

Certain examples of strikes show that they have been used for political objectives, and in some cases (as when civil servants have gone on strike) the events themselves have become mixed with aspect of political noncooperation. Where certain methods of the strike have been illegal or have continued despite government edicts to the contrary (say, in a case of an economic shutdown intended to destroy a government), there has also been a mixture of economic and political forms of noncooperation. Let us now turn to methods of political noncooperation.

POLITICAL NONCOOPERATION

Political noncooperation is the third subclass of methods of noncooperation; these methods involve refusals to continue the usual forms of political participation under existing conditions. Sometimes they are known as political boycotts. Individuals and small groups may practice methods at this class. Normally, however, political non-cooperation involves larger numbers of people in corporate, concerted, usually temporary suspension of normal political obedience cooperation, and behaviour, political noncooperation may also be undertaken by government personnel and even by government themselves. The purpose of suspension of political cooperation may simple be protest, or it may be personal dissociation from something seen as morally or politically objectionable, without much consideration as to consequences. More frequently, however, an act of political noncooperation is designed to exert pressure on the government, on an illgitimate group

attempting to seize control of the government apparatus, or sometimes on another government. The aim of the political noncooperation may be to achieve a particular limited objective or a change in broader government policies. Or it may be to change the nature or composition of that government, or even to produce its disintegration. Where political noncooperation is practiced against usurpers, its aim may be to defend and to restore the legitimate government.

The political significance of these methods increases in proportion to the numbers participating and to the need for their cooperation for the operation of the political system. In actual struggles, this class of methods is frequently combined with other forms of nonviolent action.

Political noncooperation may take an almost infinite variety of expressions, depending upon the particular situation. Basically they all stem from a desire not to assist the opponent by performance of certain types of politics behaviour. The thirty - eight methods included here are grouped into six subclasses. Many other possible methods have not been included here. For example - among the methods not specifically listed in this chapter which have to do with only one particular area of behaviour - responses to arrest, fines, court orders, and the like - are refusal to accept bail, refusal to pay securities, suspension of publication of newspapers when faced with restrictions. refusal to make parole rounds. defance of restraining and prohibition orders, and refusal to buy confiscated property. There is room for much more research.

Rejection of Authority

120. With holding or withdrawal of allegiance : A rejection of a particular regime as undeserving on legal or moral grounds of obedience, loyalty, or support.

121. Refusal of public support : Deliberate abstention of expression of open support for an existing regime and its policies.

122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance : Speeches, or the publication and distribution of literature, urging people to undertake some form of noncooperation or nonviolent intervention.

Citizens Noncooperation with government

123. Boycott of legislative bodies : A permanent or temporary refusal to participate in a law-making assembly.

124. Boycott of elections : The refusal of an opposition movement to put up candidates accompanied by a recommendation that people refuse to vote.

125. Boycott of government employment and positions : The refusal to serve a government by working for it

126. Boycott of government departments agencies and other bodies : Refusal to cooperate with all government departments or only with the governmental bodies responsible for the particular objectionable policy.

127. With drawal from government educational institutions : The indefinite or permanent withdrawal of children and youths from government - controlled schools during a resistance campaign aganist that government.

128. Boycott of government - supported organizations : Refusal to join, or resignation from, organizations which are regarded as instruments of the government or a political movement that is opposed.

129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents : Refusal by the general population for political reasons to help police in performance of their duties.

130. Removal of own signs and placemarks: The removal, alteration, or replacement of house numbers, street signs, placemarks, railroad station signs, highway direction, distance signs, and the like in order to misdirect, impede, or delay the movement of foreign troops, police, or others unfamiliar an area.

131. Refusal to accept appointed official : Refusal by a subordinate political unit to accept a new appointee to an official position.

132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions : Refusal by an organization to accept voluntarily its dissolution by government order.

Citizen's Alternatives to Obedience

133. Reluctant and slow compliance ; The delaying of compliance with certain commands as long as possible, followed by final compliance with a marked lack of enthusiasm and throughness.

134. Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision : Non compliance by a population group with commends as though they did not exist in situation in which there is no immediate supervision and enforcement.

135, Popular nonobedience : Conscious violation of a law or regulation by disregarding or ignoring it as though it did not exist rather than by blatant definance.

136. Disguised disobedience : Disobedience of laws, regulations, orders, and the like carried out in special ways which give the act a thin facade or fat or techincal compliance.

137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse : Deliberate noncompliance by a formal meeting or an informal gathering with official or unoffical demands thaty it disperse,

138. Sitdown : Persons sitting down on the street, road, ground or floor and refusing to leave voluntarily, for either a limited or an indefinite period of time.

139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation : Refusal either to register for conscription as ordered or to report for duty or deportation.

140. Hiding, escape and false identities : The use of these types of behaviour in special circumstances to resist arrest, internment, or extermination of particular groups of people or during massive repression (although otherwise such actions would not be resistance).

141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws : Deliberate, open and peaceful violation of particular laws, derees, regulation, ordinances, military or police instruction, and the like, which are believed to be illegitmate.

Action by Government personnel

142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides : Individual or collective refusal by government employees, administrators, officials, agenets or officers, to cay out particular instructions or orders while informing their superior officers of the refusal.

143. Blocking of lines of command and information : Quite obstruction by subordinates in a chain of command or other hierachical structure who deliberately fail to relay orders to subordinates ignore orders intended for themselves, or fail to pass needed information up through the channels of communication to decision - makers.

144. Stalling and obstruction : Action by govenment administrative officers and other employess to postpone, procrastinate, delay, and block a policy or measure which they are supposed to implement.

145. General administrative noncooperation : Refusal by the great majority of civil servants, staff, and officials in the government administrative system to cooperate with usurpers of a foreign military occupation regime or to leaders of a *couped'etat.*

146. Judicial noncooperation : Refusal by members of a judicial system (judges Jurons or the like) to carry out the will of the regime, a court official, or another part of the judicial system to do or not to do something.

147. Delibrate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by an forcement agents : Deliberate implementation of orders with less than full efficiency by police, solidiers, and other enforcement officials, or selective complete refusal by them to follow certain orders, carried out on a scale too limited to be described as mutiny.

148. Mutiny : Refusal by members of the of military force of police, or both, to carry out orders.

Domestic Governmental Action :

149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays : Efforts by subordinate or constituent units of government to evade or to delay as long possible compliance with a superior law, order, policy, or court decision which they dislike, but without directly defying it.

150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units : Official noncooperation with the central government by subordinate or constituent units

International Government Action

151. Changes in diplomatic and other representation : Deliberate alteration of formal representation of one government in another country without breaking diplomatic relations.

152. Delay and cancellation of dipliomatic events : Action by a government to stall or half certain negotiations, meeetings conferences, or the like, involving a disapproved government.

153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition : Deliberate refusal of diplomatic recognition to government.

154. Severance of diplomatic relations : The breaking of normal diplomatic ties by one government with a another.

155. Withdrawal from international organizations Governmental retraction of membership or participation in international organizations or conferences.

156. Refusal of membership in international bodies : Refusal by international intergovernmental instituions to accept a governmental as a member.

157. Expulsion from international organizations : International bodies expelling a member State or other body for violation of their policies or constitutions.

Political noncooperation has been the last of the three subclasses of methods of nonviolent noncooperation.

NONVIOLENT INTERVENTION

One final class of the methods on nonviolent action remains that of nonviolent intervention. The forty-one menthods in this class differ from those in the classes of protest persuasion and of noncooperation in that in some way they intervene in the situation. Such methods of intervention operate both negatively and positively; they may disrupt, and even destroy, established behaviour patterns, policies, relationships, or institutions which are seen as objectionable; or they may establish new behaviour patterns, policies relationships; or institutions which are preferred. Some of these methods contribute primarily to the first of these results, some to the second.

Compared with the methods of the classes of protest and persuasion and of noncooperation, the methods of nonviolent intervention pose a more direct and immediate challenge. If successful the victory is likely to come quicker by the use of methods of this class than with the use of methods in the previous classes, because the distruptive effects of the intervention are harder to tolerate or withstand for a considerable period of time. For example intervention by a sit-in at a lunch counter disrupts normal operations more immediately and completely than would, say, picketing or a consumer's boycott, though the objective of each of these actions may be to end racial discrimination. However, though the challenge of methods of intervention is clearer and more direct, the result is not necessarily more rapid success. Precisely because of the character of intervention, speedier and more severe repression may be a first result-which, of course, does not necessarily mean defeat.

In most cases, use of the methods of this class may induce change through the mechanisms of accomodation or of nonviolent coercion, i.e., without the opponent's being convinced of the desirability of changing the policy in question. However, certain of these methods (especially those classed as psychological intervention), and also the repression which frequently occurs against other methods (especially those classed as physical intervention). may contribute to the opponent's conversion, or at least to his becoming less certain of the rightness his previous views. These mechanisms of conversion, accommodation, and nonviolent coercoin are discussed in detail in the next chapter.

To a greater degree than in the classes discussed earlier, methods of nonviolent intervention are associated with initiative by the nonviolent actionists. The methods of intervention may be used both defensively to thwart an opponent's attack by maintaining independent Initiative, behaviour patterns, institutions, or the like - and offensively - to carry the struggle for the actionists' objectives into the opponent's own camp, even without any immediate provocation. These methods therefore, are not simply defensive responses to the opponent's initiative.

The range of methods of within this class is wide. In this chapter they have been classified according to the dominant manner of expression of the intervention itself: psychological, physical, social, economic, or political. This is quite often different from the influences the method may have. For example, an act of social intervention may have strong psychological influences. An act of psychological intervention may have a political impact. An act of psysical intervention may have social repercussions, and so on. All the methods of nonviolent action are likely to have some type of psychological influence; as considered here psychological intervention includes methods in which the psychological element is the dominant form of expression.

Obviously these five subclasses are somewhat arbitrary. Alternative classifications of particular methods are possible, especially in a given conflict situation. Futhermore, not every use of these methods will actually produce intervention. A given act may be too limited, weak, or restricted in time, numbers, or focus to consitutute significant intervention, and may instead become primarily an act of nonviolent protest and persuasion.

Psychological Intervention

158. Self-exposure to the elements : Subjection of one's body to discomfort from the elements sun, rain, etc,) to apply psychological pressure to induce change.

159. The fast : Deliberate abstention from certion or all food to achieve an objective. Fasters may seek to convert an opponent fully (the satyagrahic fast), to exert moral infuence without full conversion (the fast of moral pressure). or to force an opponent to grant demands without an effort to convert (the hunger strike).

160. Reverse trial : A reversal of the roles of prosecutor and prosecuted in a trial of political opposition or religious dissenters who by their behaviour in court place the government on trial.

161. Nonviolent harassment : Various actions which concentrade private and public pressures on individuals engaged in detested activities.

Physical Intervention

162. Sit in : The physical occupation of certain facilities by persons sitting on available chairs , stools, and occasionally on the floor, for a limited or indefinite period.

163. Stand-in : Persons persistently standing and waiting in an orderly manner at a certain place (as a ticket office, admission entrance. appointment desk. or doorway) in order to gain an objective which has been refused to them (such as a ticket, admission, or interview).

164. Ride-in : A type of sit-in adapted to public transportation or regulations on seating patterns, known in the U.S. as a "freedom ride".

165. Wade-in : Physical entry of persons normally excluded by custom or legel prohibition into an accessible beach and water area to make normal recreational use of those facilities.

166. Mill-in : A gathering of persons in some place of symbolic significance or one related to a grievance (as offices) in which they remain there but keep moving around.

167. Pray-in : Entry or attempted entry, by persons belonging to an excluded group into a church or temple from which they have been barred in order to participate equally in the religious service.

168. Nonviolent raid : A march by volunteers to a designated point of symbolic for strategic importance who then demand possession of it.

169. Nonviolent air raid : Use of airplanes, balloons, or other air transport to enter the air space of an opponent, without threat of violence or material destruction, in order to bring leaflets, food or other gifts to the population.

170. Nonviolent invasion : Deliberate and unconcealed nonviolent entry into a forbidden area to use it for a particular purpose or to repudiate the regime's or agency's sovereignty or control over it.

171. Nonviolent interjection : The placing or one's body as a barrier between a person and the objective of that person's work or activity when this barrier can be physically overcome.

172. Nonviolent obstrution : A group of people placing their bodies between a person and the objective of that person's work or activity so as to create a formideble physical barrier.

173. Nonviolent occupation : Insistence by people on remaining on certain land or in a particular building. despite orders to leave.

Social Intervention

174. Establishing new social patterns: The initiation and persistent repetition by individuals and groups of new types of social behavior aimed at their eventual adoption by others and general acceptance.

175. Overloading of facilities: The deliberate increase of demands for services far beyond the capacity to the department, business, or other institution to provide them.

176. Stall in : The conducting of legitimate business by a firm's customers or clients in the slowest possible manner with the intent of inducing some policy change, usually within that firm.

177. Speek in : The expression of a viewpoint by deliberate interruption of a meeting, religious service, or other gathering.

178. Guerrilla theater : A political skit dramtic presentation, or similar act with a political theme performed either as a disruption of the activities of a group or in the open air or at a significant location. More generally a spontâneous theater style, usally with a political theme.

179. Alternative social intitutions : A newly created or developed social intittution which partially or fully replaces an established one, especially one controlled by an opponent.

180. Alternative communication system : A substitute system for public or private communication developed by opposition group on a sufficent scale to challenge the established media and communication systems controlled by the oopponent regim.

Economic Intervention :

181. Reverse strike. Insistence by laborers on working on a volunteer basis in order to apply pressure to gain an objective from an opponent.

182. Stay-in strike : Action by workers to halt work while remaining at their place of work until their demands are granted.

183. Nonviolent land seizure : Expropriation by direct nonviolent occupation by people who then use the land without the owner's permission to produce a defacto change of possession and control aimed at a dejure change of ownership.

184. Defiance of blockade : Nonviolent defiance of a blockade imposed by a hostile regime, bringing food and other necessities to the besieged population.

185. Politically-motivated counterfeiting : The deliberate distribution of counterfeit money and economic documents by a private opposition group or hostile foreign State to disrupt the country's economic or loss of confidence in its currency.

186. Preclusive purchasing : The buying up of supplies of important commodities in world markets in order to make them unavailable to an opponent.

187. Seizure of assets : Impounding or confiscating assets in one country which are owned by the State or nationals of another country with which a conflict exists.

188. Dumping : The deliberate sale of commodity on world markets at below standerd prices in order to depress the world price and reduce the earnings or otherwise harm the economy of a rival country.

189. Selective patronage : Promotion of patronage of designated firms or of products with particular origins as a meant of exerting economic pressures on other firms or economic units in a conflict.

190. Alternative market : Illegal channels of buying and selling food and other supplies at reasonable prices during war-time or occupations to help meet the needs of the populace, to keep goods out of the enemy's hands, or to prevent the regime from establishing complete control over economic life.

191. Alternative transportation system: a temporary or permanent transportation system developed by nonviolent resisters during a conflict situation.

192. Alternative economic institution. The establishment and use of an economic institution in a conflict situation to challenge an established one and to wield power in a conflict situation.

Political Intervention :

193. Overloading of administrative systems: Intentional overtaxing and clogging of an administrative system by popular action in the form of excessive compliance, sometime called a

"comply-in" as by overprovision of data, information, suggestions, protests, or statements, slowing the system's capacity to continue its normal activites.

194. Disclosing identities of secret agents: The publication of the names, perhaps with photographs and the like, of the indetified secret police and undercover agents working for the opponent against the resistance movement.

195. Seeking imprisonment : Resisters (usually in large numbers.) verbally requesting to jailed, or behaving so as to ensure their own imprisonment as a primary objective; when the aim is to fill the jails, this may be called a "jail-in".

196. Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws : Deliberate violation of those laws and regulations which are perceived as morally "neutral" and not illegitimate, especially in advanced stage of a nonviolent revolutionary struggle.

197. Work-on without collaboration : Determined persistence by civil servants, government officials, and ordinary citizens in carrying out the legally established policies, programs, and duties in indifference to, or defiance of, contrary orders issued by a usurping regime.

198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government : A rival government which operates side by side with one of the opponent, challenging its authority and political power; the rival government may be either a new one in a revolutionary situation or the established one being defended against a coup d'eat or foreign occupation.

These 198 methods have all occurred spontaneously, or have been consciously invented, to meet the needs of an immediate conflict situation. They have then spread by imitation, perhaps being modified in the process to sult new circumstences.

This list of methods, which outlines contents of Part Two of The Politics of nonviolen Action, presents a one-sided and some what static view of the conflict sitution in which (at least) one side is using this technique. These many methods can be viewed as limited implementations of the theory of power presented in Chapter One-that all governments and hierachical systems depend on the obedience, assistance, and cooperation of the people whom their rule and that these people have the capacity of limiting or with Folding their contributions and obedience to the system. According to that theory, if the withholding is undertaken by enough people for a long enough period of time, then the regime will have to come to terms or it will be collapsed.

But of course only very rarely, if ever, do governments and other hieratchical systems face the extreme alternatives of complete support or none. Most frequently they receive partial support. Even when, in the end, the regime is destroyed by disobedience, noncooperation, and defiance, this may follow only after a severe struggle in which the regime was supported sufficiently and long enough to inflict brutal repression against the nonviolent actionsits. The simple enumeration of specific methods of this technique and exploration of their charcteristics and application give less than one side of this picture. This is so because even that does not explore the pshychological forces which may operate in these conflict situations nor does it take into consideration the extreme and often quick shifts in power relations which occur between the contesting groups.

Except for an introductory discussion in Chapter Three, what has been missing thus far in our examination of the basic nature and charcteristics of the technique of nonviolent action has been an exploration of how it operates in struggle against a viloent opponet and the several ways in which changes are finally produced That is, we have not yet examined the technique's dynamics in struggle, its mechanisms of change, the specific factors that determine whether a given campaign will be a success or a failure or something in between. It is to these vital aspects of our subject to which we now turn: how does nonviolent action work in struggle?

NOTES

1. Cases in which both sides use nonviolent means are discussed in the complete English language edition of Part Three of The politicles of Nonviolent Action. pp 690-695.

2. The terms "method" and form" are used interchangeably her although generally "method" is used and recommeded

3. Leo Wolman. The Boycott in American Trade Unions, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science Series XXXIV, No 1, (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins press, 1916), p.34

4. John king Fairbank, The United States and China,(Cambridge, Mass : Harvard University Prees, 1958), pp.167-168.

5. Clarence Marsh Case, Non-Violent Coercion : A Study in Methods of Social Pressure, (New York : Century Co., 1923),p.316.

6. Woman, The Boycott in American Trade Union, p 14

Exercise

1. List out the major classes and methods of nonviolent action.

LESSON - 21

DYNAMICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION

How nonviolent struggle works is basic to any real understanding of this technique[1]. This is also essential for evaluating what roles it might have in future domestic and international conflicts.

The dynamics of this technique of social and political action are not yet well knwon. Non-violent struggle is still comparatively unstudied. Nevertheless, there are a multitude of poplar opinions on how it operates or why it fails. These opinions are rarely based on real understanding of the dynamics of struggle and mechanisms of change of this technique. Both opponents and proponts of nonviolent action haves pread distortions and errors of fact about how nonviolent action operates in conlicts.

Understanding of the dynamics of nonviolent struggle and of its mechanisms for success is greatly aided by attention to actual cases. Because this chapter is an extremely condensed summary of part Three, it is impossible here to include such cases. They are provided, however, along with much fuller discussion of the dynamics, in part Three of the (language) edition published by and in the original 1973 unabriedged English language exdition.

Among the many cases discussed in that port which illustrate important aspects of these dyanmics are : the American colonial nonviolent struggles, 1765-1775; the Hungarian resistance to Austrian rule, 1850-1867 the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917; the 1930-1931 Indian independence campaign; the resistance movements in several Nazi occupied countries, 1`940-1945; US. Civil rights movement, from 1955; and the Czechoslovkian defense resistance, 1968-1969. The analytic framework summarized in this chapter can greatly illuminate the nature of nonviolent struggles since the nature the writing of that book as well. Among the most important cases are: the Ovambo labor strike in Namibia 1971-1972; the Iranian revolution. 1978-1979; and the Polish Solidarity movement, begun in 1980.

Contrary to popular assumptions, success in this technique is not based on the promise that man is inherently "good". Nor does success require the presence of a common value system, a strong community of interest, or a high degree of psychological closeness. These may help, and even be important if present, but they are not required. Nor is nonviolent struggles, as some have claimed, the private preserve of pacifists or of the pure and holy. Overweelmingly it has been used by ordinary people.

WIELDING POWER

Nonviolent action is a means of waging struggle in a conflict situation. It resembles war more than it does negotiations. This technique wields power, both to counter the power of an opponent group, and also to advance the objectives of the nonviolent group. The nonviolent technique may be viewed as dealing with the opponent's power more indirectly than does political violence. But it may also be seen as striking at the opponet's power more directly than does violence.

Instead of confronting the opponent's police. troops, and the like with forces of the same type, the nonviolent actionists counter those expressions of the opponent's power indirectly. These

operate to undermine the opponet while they also help to mobilize increased strength and support for the cuse which the actionists esouse. for example, by responding to repression nonviolently instead of by counter violence, the nonviolent actionsts may demonstrate that the opponet's repression is incapable of cowing the populace. Their continued resistance while maintaining nonviolent decipline may alienate the oppenent's usual supporters, hence weakening his relative power position. The unmbers of reisters may grow, and support for them may also increase significantl;y. All this happen because the opponet's violence is countered indirectly instead of violently.

This indirect approach of not doing what the opponent expects and wants, of weakening resistance before attempting to overcome it, and of drawing the other party out of his defenses has important roots in military strategy, especially in Napoleon and Liddell Hart[2].

In another way the nonviolent technique strikes at the opponent's power more directly than do violent means. In Chapter One we discussed how all rulers and governments depend directly or indirectly for their sources of power (authority, anpower, skills and knowlede), economic resources, administration, militery power, and the likee on the cooperation, submission, obedience and assistance of their own agents and officials their own general population, and possibly other groups. when the ruler is attempting to govern an occupied country he must not simply control its geogrphy but must control its population and institutions. Despite appearances to the contrary. this dependency of the ruler on the subjects applies to all political systems, even totalitarian ones. That is why they utilize terror and other means to control people's minds.

Noncooperation and defiance threaten these sources of power. The potential is illustrated by distruptive massive strikes and mutinies of the opponet's own troops. The degree to which the power sources are threatened varies with specific case.

In addition to the impact of noncooperation and defiance, there are other significant influence which contribute to the power effect of the nonviolent technique. For example, pshychological and morale factors, regarded as highly important in military campaigns, are of still greater importance in nonviolent struggles.

The ways in which this type of struggle "works" are much more than previously thought particularly, they are more diversified and complicated than comparable processes in political violence.

No two cases of nonviolent action are ever exactly alike. They will differ in many respects, including; the influences and pressures wielded by the nonviolent actionists, the responses of the opponents, and the nature of the confict situation. A variety of separate forces and processes are likely to operate simiultaneusly during a given nonviolent campaign. These may include the effects of the significant increase, or multiplication, of noncooperating and defiant subjects, the persistence of the actionsits in face of the actionists inface of repression, and possibly pressures by third parties

The degrees of support given to the opponent and to the nonviolent actionists may vary considerably and continuously. The relative strengths of both groups are therefore constantly subject to variations and at times to extreme changes.

In spite of the variation in cases of nonvioent action, it is possible to describe broadly the main processes and mechanisms which may operete during a struggle of this type.

SPONTANEOUS OR ORGANIZEO

Effective nonviolent action does not just "happen". whether it is spontaneous or deliberately planned, considerable groundwork will have prepared the way.

Unfortunately we know very little of the conditions under which spontaneous nonviolent action occurs. Some of the cases in chapter three began spontaneously. We do not know to what degree the conditions for spontaneous struggle can be consciously cultivated, even if the actual events must be left to a "maturing" of the elements which may produce them detailed comparative studies of cases of spontaneous nonviolent action might shed light on this. They could prove to be extremely important, especially for situations where political conditions make it difficult to organize nonviolent action on a large scale, as under extreme dictatorships. For the sake of simplifying this discussion, however, we will assume deliberate planning.

A leadership group will usally initiate as well as plan the campaign and give it continuing direction, at least in the early stages, However, in some cases the leadership group may be called to or assume their positions after the movement has begun. Leadership in such situations serves a very important role, especilly where the knowledge and understanding of the principles and practice of nonviolent action are not both widespread and deep among the gerneral population. In any case, someone usally has to work out the strategy to be followed, perhaps negotiate with the opponent, and choose the most suitable moment for action. Such leadership can take a variety of forms but the quality of leadership will be very important in influencing the course of events.

A full and accurate understanding of the facts of the conflict will require prior investigation. This may be followed by the dissemination of those facts and also the views of the nonviolent actionsits on the basic issues. The objectives and demans of the nonviolent group will also be formulated, Plitical circumstances permitting, negotiations with the opponent may take place, in an effort to solve the problem short of direct action. The capacity to act if negotiations should fail is important in determining their out come. This has been forcefully illustrated in the histroy of labor disputes.

If negotiations fail, a stage of generating "cause-consciouness" may follow, though it may not always be necessary. The campaigners may aim at this stage to arouse support. They may also aim to increase the belief that something can and ought to be done about the griavances, and that this can be best achieved by nonviolent action. Assuming that advance planning is possible, consideration is given to the choice or strategy, tactics and specific methods of action to be used. Planning and preparations for implementing these will also be necessary. A focal point of attack may be chosen after consideration of a variety of factors. An ultimatum, containing the grievances demands and a time limit, may or may not be issued.

THE CHALLENGE

While some of the various methods of nonviolent protest may be used. We are assuming for this discussion that in the main the methods of noncooperation and nonviolent intervention are

being applied. That means power leverages. Just as consent, cooperation and submission of the subjects are vital for the maintenance of a govenment's political power, so the withdrawal of consent, .cooperation and submission by concrete methods of action will challenge that system.

The seriousness of this challenge will vary with a number of factors. These include: the quality of the action, the numbers participating, the ways in which the withdrawal is expressed, and the ability of the subordinates to maintain their determination nonviently and theri refusal of submission in the face of the opponent's meassures. The effect will also in part be determined by the social and political milieu in which the struggle takes place. These basic conditions include the degree of nonconformitly the system can tolerate without altering its nature, the degree of support for or hositility to the regime among all groups involved, the chances of the noncooperation and defiance spreading, and, finally, the degree to which the material, human and moral sources of power necessary for the government's existence are continually available, are restricted or are withdrawn.

The opponent's own measures are of course important in influing the outcome, but in themselves are not decisive. To be active they must produce the desired results. This does not says happen. In certain situations at least the oppenent's ability act may be influenced by forces outside his control which directly indirectly may have been stimulated by the nonviolent actionsist.

The challenge by nonviolent action may be a mild on and urb the status quo only slightly. In extreme cases, however, the llenge may shatter it. In any event, the situation will be altered several wys. Aftention will have been called to the grievances, to the presence of an unmistakable opposition. The underlying flict will be brought out into the open, probably leading to an polarzing of opinion.

Whatever the relative support for either the nonviolent actionists the opponent at the outset, it is certain that it will not remainable Indeed, it will be subjected to continual variation depending in the course of the struggle, Simultaneously, a number of anges may take place within the nonviolent group and the population whose grievenes it is attempting to rectify. They are likely self-respect, self-confidence and an awareness of their power.

The capacity of actionists to wield the weapons of noncooperation social, economic or political listed in the previous chapter is extreme importance in the dynamics of a particular nonviolent compaign.

Obviously if the issues at stake are primarily economic and[7] of a type on which economic boycotts or strikes may be effective the struggle will largely hinge on the opponent's vulnerability such leverages and the actionists' capacities to withhold economic operation. Similarly, in certain other situations, the issues may primarily political and the opponent may require the political cooperation of the population, the society's institutions. and administrative divisions of the state. In those situations, the at of the population to refuse that political cooperation, for the tutions to conduct political boycotts, and for the personnel subdivisions in the administrative systems to noncooperate myriad of ways, will determine to a large degree the outcom that particular struggle.

Comparable options may at times exist in which social cooperation may be most significant, and even in which central in the types of nonviolent intervention may be crucial.

It is highly improtant to keep these leverages in mind do this chapter. This will haelp out into perspective the more extreme discussion of the need to withstand the opponent's repression the potential for undermining loyalties and obedience of men of the opponent group, and of the possibillity of multiplying numbers of resisters and the types of their activities. the application of economic and plitical leverages by noncooperation consti much of the real substance of nonviolent struggle.

It would be an error to equate being nonviolent with kee the oppoent good natured. The opponent is not likely to appress a challenge to his power or policies, even if the challeng nonviolent. If the action poses a serious threat to the oppon ability to contol the situation, and if he does not intend to the demands, he must have some kind of counteraction.

This will be inriuenced by his anxity about, or his the possible future course of the challenge. The less democreat system, the less dissent can be tolerated. Pshychological meat available to him include the spreading of faolse rumors, atten to split the movement or to alienate support for it, of effort "justify": his postion, sanctions are very likely, and where oppenent is the government these will involve the use of police and perhaps the armed forces, assuming that these remalin loyal.

If open, repression is chosen there is a large number of means open, such as censorship, confiscation of funds and property, severance of communications, economic presures, arrests, imprisonment, conscription. concertration camps, use of agents provocateurs' threats of future punishment, beatings. Shootings, torture, martial law, excutions, retaliation aganist others, etc. The amount and type or repression will vary with a variety of factors.

The violence of such repression may be in part a recognition of the seriousness of the challenge, and in part a demonstration of the nature of that system. This demonstration may have an important infulence on the future course of the struggle, potentially alienating support for the opponent and increasing support for the nonviolent actiactionists.

REPRESSION AND PERSISTENCE

The likeligood of such repression being used is strong evidence that nonviolent action can pose a real threat to the established order. This is a confirmation of and a tribute to the power of the technique; it is no more a reason for abandoning nonviolent action as hopeless than is violent repression in the face of a violent challange.

Contrary to what might be expected, repression will not necessarily produce submission. For sanctions to be effective. they must operate on the minds of the subjects, producing fear and the willingness to obey. Just as in war, however, there is the possibility that planning and discipline, or some over riding loyalty or objective will cause the nonviolent actionists to persist despite the dangers.

Nonviolent action disproves the popular assumption that only a violent response can be effective against violent repression. On, the contrary. maintenace of nonviolent discipline and steadfast resistance (despite violent repression) causes psychological, social, and "political repercussions, weakening the violent regime by political jiu-jitsu". This process is important in producing the mechanisms of change that are described later in this chapter.

The opponent's problems in dealing with the nonviolent resisters may be accentuated because most of his means of repression appear to be designed to deal with *violent* disobedience end *violent* struggle and *nonviolent* struggle, however, the effects of the repression against these two techniques may differ radically. For example, men imprisoned in a nonviolent struggle are widely regarded as still in the "front lines" - not removed from the battle; it is more difficult to justify and maintain support, for repression against nonviolent people than agaist, say, terrorists; nonviolent actionists may seek to exhaust the opponent's means or repression and thus demonstrate his incapacity to rule even with such means. At times, of course, repression aginst nonviolent action *may* be effective, but depending on conditions, it aslo *may not.* If it is not, the opponent will be in difficulties.

Faced with repression, there is only one acceptable respoens by the nonviolent actionists. If they have the strength, they must persist in their action and refuse to submit or retreat. In history there are many examples of groups standing firm, both violentry nonviolently, against "impossible" odds. Nonviolent actionists must be able to manifest their determination by defying prepression Fear lessness (or at least refusal to be deterred by fear) may have far-reaching results influencing the course of the struggle. The suffering thus incurred in nonviolent struggle need not be interpreted, in a metaphysical, or spiritual stage; its psychological, social and political consequence are highly important.

There , is nor intrinsic reason why people should be willing to accept the risk of suffering in violent conflicts and not in nonviolent ones, especially as it appears on investigation that the risk is smaller in the latter cases. It is not suffering *as such* which is there important. but the type of suffering encountered in the course of persistent and courageous waging of nonviolent struggle. The numbers of actionists refusing to submit and the psychological or moral effects of their sacrifices may both influence the future course of the struggle.

Faced with repression and suffering, the nonviolent group will need to make deliberate efforts to strengthen the group's morale, feelings of solidarity and determination to continue unflinchingly during the difficult times. This task also exists in military struggle, with which there are important parallels. In this case, however, the solidarity and determination are expressed without violent retaliation. At times maintenance of nonviolent discipline can be a problem. Training can ease this problem, but the greatest contribution to its solution is likely to be the learning by direct experience that maintenance of nonviolent discipline gives them the greatest degree of control over the opponent and the most power to achieve their goals, as well as greatest safety to themselves.

THE OPPONENT'S PROBLEMS

The opponent facing serious nonviolent action will be seriously threatened if his own policies are difficult to justify, if the nonviolent action involves an optimaj combination of quality and quantity, and if the nonviolent group is able to maintain a disciplined and determined persistence in their intended course despite represion.

If the defiance is widespread or especially daring, the opponent cannot really ignore it without apparting to be helpless in the face of defiance. Thereby he may run the risk of the spread

of the defiance. Yet, as we shall see, repression not only may *not* sterngthen his position, but in certain circumstances it may set in motion forces which may *weaken* it futher.

The opponent's difficulties in coping with nonviolent action are not dependent upon his being surprised by the nonviolence nor upon a lack of familiarity with the technique. The difficulties, rather, are associated with the dynamics or mechanisms of the technique. These tend to maximize the influence and power of the nonviolent group while undermining those of the opponent.

The opponent's repression may be more limited than that he would use aginst a violent rebellion. Extremely brutal repression aganist a nonviolent group is more difficult to justify (to his own people, to the world at large, etc.) than aganist violent rebels. It may therefore react aganist him, weakening his power position. The degreed to which a regime will feel able to defy world or internal - opinion will of course vary with several factors. News may eventually leak out despite censorship, and harsher measures may increase hostility and resistance to the regime rather than reduce them.

The opponent may wish the rebels had instead chosen violent means, for those do not possess the same kind of enforcement problems, and he is generally better equipped to deal with them. The opponent may therefore deliberately seek to provoke the resisters into violence : either by serve repression intended to break the nonviolent discipline or by the use of spies and *agents provocateurs*.

If the nonviolent actionists maintain their discipline and continue the struggle despite repression and other measures, and if they involve significant sections of the populace, the results of their behaviour mau extend far beyond individual example and martysrdom. The result may be the creation of a situation in which the opponent's will is effectively blocked, in which he is politically unable to carry out his plans even with the aid to repression.

The arrest of leadership may simply lead to the movement developing in such a way as to unable it to carry on wihtout a recognizable leadership. The opponent may make new acts i) legal only, to find that he has opened new opportunities for defiance. He may find that while he attempts to repress defiance at certain points, the nonviolent actionists have found sufficient strength to broaden their attack on other fronts so as to challenge his very ability to rule. He may find that instead of mass repression forcing cooperation and obedience, the repression is constantly met by refusal to submit or to fleet, and repeatedly is demonstrated to be impotent yet, not only may his repression prove inadequate to control his defiant subjects; his very agenecies or repression may in extreme cases be immobilized by the massive defiance !

THE POSSIBILITY OF BRUTALITIES

Any nonviolent action movement against a powerful opponent or land such movement which potentially or in fact fundamentally threatens the *status quo* must face the possibility if brutalities being committed aginst it. In some situation these will be probable or almost certain. These brutalities may arise from three general sources:

(1) The regime itself may be one in which brutality is commonplace. Terror may be used against all opponents, real or imaginary, in an effort to make the regime oppment.

(2) A regime not characterized to the same degree by violence or terror may nevertheless when challenged effectively and fundamentally react with brutal repression. This repression may follow from a deliberate decision that only some such drastic action will be able to crush the resister - especially if less drastic measures have failed - or from exasperation at the refusal of the actionists to behave in the expected manner or to submit in response to less severe repression.

(3) Without direct orders from the regime, army or police officers may order brutalities, or individual soldiers, policemen, or civilians may on their own initiative inflict them. These brutalities may result from the sadistic qualities of the men concerned, loyalty to the opponent, from feelings of frustration produced by the defiance, or from uneasiness and inner confllicts aroused by the situation and the qualities of the nonviolent actionists.

The knowledgeable nonviolence actionist in crisis situations not surprised by such brutalities - even when they occur where others might least expect them. If the movement of opposition is to continue and not to be crushed, the response to brutalities must be essentially the same as when facing less severe means of repression. Either to halt the action or to resort to violence would have serious consequences and would certainly rebound in the opponent's favor. To be effective, the actionists must still persist and maintain their fearlessness, nonviolence, and firmness.

The suffering may continue for some time until it becomes clear that brutalities cannot cow the actionists, that the brutalities may really be weakening the opponent's postition, or until there is a change of policy or attitude toward the nonviolent group and their demands. The nonviolent actionists must thus be willing to pay a heavy price - just like soldiers in war - because in terms of the dynamics of nonviolent action such a price must at times be paid if fundamental changes are to be made.

The leadership in a nonviolent struggle ought not to demand that the participants undergo suffering beyond their ability, for both practical and moral reasons, Therefore, although repression is likely as part of the opponent's response to nonviolent challenge, the nonviolent actionist will not normally seek to provoke brutalities as such. They may even deliberately choose actions which may reduce the extent or intensity of the repression without weakening their defiance.

However, on rare occasions actions may be taken by a selected nonviolent group (deemeed capable of acting without either violence or flight in extreme situation) against which the opponent is expected to respond with extreme crulties. In such cases the brutalities are likely to arouse deep and widespread indignation against the opponent, because of the nature of the acts, the persons against whome they are committed, the circumstances of the engagement and the fact they are committed against persons not threatening or using violence themselves. Such provocation of brutalities is intended to reveal the extremities of which the opponent is capable, and hence alienate support for him, bringing instead sympathy and support for the nonviolent actionists, (In such cases. it may be necessary to discourage others outraged by the brutalities from committing retallatory violence, lest they thereby reverse the process).

There is no reason for alarm in the face of the opponent's anger and repression. The situation, however, must be handled wisely. It is appears that the opponent is simply becoming brutalized or that the actionists are not able to withstand the sufferings a change in tactics and methods may be required. Barring that, however, there is reason to believe that the brutalities are a temporary phase, though not necessarily a brief one. Brutalities thrive on fear, anger or counter - violence, but in the absence of these and in the presence of evidence that both the normal repression and the brutalities react upon and weaken the opponent's own position, there will be a tendency for the opponent's violence to be reduced.

POLITICAL JIU - JITSU

As these possible effects of repression run so counter to popular views about the consequences of such action, it is important to see more specifically just how this may happen. This process can be described as "political *jiu - jitsu*".

The nonviolent actionist do not, as we have seen, seek to challenge the opponent on his own terms; they refuse to join in the use of violence. The technique of nonviolent action instead operates in such a way as for there to be a strong tendency for the opponent's power based on violence and repression to be turned against him. His superior capacity for violence becomes at certain stages responsible for a weakening in his own relative power position and a strengthening of that of the nonviolent group. This is because the violent group can never really come to grips with the kind of power wielded by the nonviolent actionists. It has been compared to striking the water with a sword. Gandhi wrote ; 'The might of the tryant recoils upon himself when it meets with no response, even as an arm violently waved in the air suffers dislocation."[4]

Under certain circumstances repression may have the following effects : It may alienate the general popularce from the opponent's regime, making them more likely to join the resistance. The repression may alienate the opponent's own subjects, usual supporters and agents; initial uneasiness may lead to internal opposition and at times to noncooperation and disobedience and in his own camp. The repression may help rally public opinion to the support of the nonviolent actionists (though it is recognized that the influences of opinion varies), and may lead to supporting action. If the repression does lead to a significant increase in the numbers of nonviolent actionists, and possibly also provokes a reaction from opponent's own supporters (as by strikes, disobedience and mutiny of his troops), the repression clearly will have rebounded against the regime.

Because the opponenet sometimes sees that violent repression rebounds to his disadvantage, there have been a few attempts to respond by counter-nonviolence, or at least by deliberate limitation of the severity of the repression. This has occasionally happened, as in British India against Gandhi's volunteers, in Britain aganist the Committee of 100 demonstrators in the early 1960s, in the United States against civil rights demonstrators, and in Japan against student opposition.

OVERWHEIMING DEFIANCE

The numbers of nonviolent actionists may become extremely large and their distribution very widespread. When this occurs, as long as they do not give way to fear, it may become

physically impossible for the agents or repression to enforce the opponent's will effectively. Police may at times give up the attempts, and occasionally officials may resign and troops mutiny. (This situation, it is emphasized, cannot be produced except tends to gain unity, internal cooperation and solidatory. However there also appears to be special qualities in nonviolent action which contribute to these results. when the aims of the nonviolent actionists have overwhelming support among the populace and they are willing to pay the price of change.) If effective repression becomes impossible, not only may the mass defiance become so overwhelming that it cannot be crushed, but the defiance may also undermine the very strength of the opponent. Even if he wants to continue to fight the movement, in the new situation it may be no longer effectively possible for him to do so. Massive defiance by the population can make a government powerless.

CHANGES IN THE STRUGGLE GROUP

As nonviolent action makes progress, the participants gains more experience and knowledge. They may gain increased confidence in their ability to influence the course of events, and greater awareness of their own power. In common with experience in other types of conflict, the group using nonviolent action and the grievance group may in turn have important influences on the opponent and the course of the conflict.

THREE WAYS TO SUCCESS

What, however, are the real impacts of this type of struggle on the opponent? Despite the variations from one case of nonviolent action to another, it is possible to distinguisgh three general "mechanisms" of change that operate in nonviolent action. These are cunversion, *accommodation,* and *nonviolent coercion*".[5]

Nonviolent actionists may seek to induce change by selecting in advance one of these mechanisms as the preferred process of change, or a particular mechanism may operate without advance choice. The technique can potentially use any one, or any combination, of the mechanisms to induce change. That is particularly important for understanding both the nature of the technique and its political potentialities.

CONVERSION

In conversion "the opponent, as the result of the actions of the nonviolent person or group, comes around to a new point of view which embraces the ends of the nonviolent actor."[6] This change may be influenced by reason, argumentation and other intellectual efforts, through it is doubtful that only intellectual efforts will produce conversion. Conversion in nonviolent action is likely also to involve the opponent's emotions, beliefs, attitudes and moral system. The nonviolent group *may* deliberately seek to convert the opponent so that he finally not only grants their objectives but now *wants* to grant them because he has come to feel that it is right to do so.

In conversion attempts, the suffering of the actionists may play a major role. This suffering in the major vehicle used to convert the opponent, by appealing to his emotions. Difficult problems of perception may be involved. Nevertheless, the suffering is regarded as a means of bridging the social distance between the two groups and of inducing the opponent to change his view of the actionists and the wider grievance group, seeing them now as fellow human beings, It may take a considerable period of time to achieve this goal, if it ever does heppen. In time, this change of

image may make it possible for the opponent to "Identify: with the suffering nonviolent actionists; there is evidence that this can happen despite initially extreme social distance between groups.

This suffering begins to cause psychological changes in the opponent before he is consciously aware of them. Only after this process is well underway does the opponent realize that he may be changing. This may lead to apparently sudden reversals of outlook.

There are several ways in which this process may be initiated. Awareness that third parties are moved by this suffering, and are repelled by the opponent's violence against the nonviolent actionists may induce uncertainty in the opponent and *indirectly* stimulate changes in his attitudes, emotions or convictions. Such suffering may also be a *direct* stimulus to change, particularly when the social distance between the groups is not great or when it can be overcome over a long period of time. A complex of strong emotions which may swing between opposite poles, is another factor facilitating conversion; this complex makes possible sudden rushes of admiration remorse, compassion and shame. In addition, the opponent may becaome ashamed of the violence of his repression, while still thinking his *policies* are right. Finally he may progressively come to regret the policies which stimulated the nonviolent action.

The willingness to engage in sacrifices to further their beliefs or objectives will strongly demonstrate the sincerity or nonviolent actionists. If the opponent recognizes their sincerity, this may lead to respect for them, and to reconsidering his views of the group, their ideas and aims. One possible consequence of this respect may be that the opponent will unconsciously imitate them, and lesson his violence. Or, he may change his image of the actionists and the wider "grievance group" on whose behalf the struggle has been launched.

Repeated behaviour which refutes the opponent's image of these people may help to create a new, more accurate image. With increased recognition of the actionists as fellow human beings, the opponent may become more willing to reconsider and alter his challenged policies. The opponent's inner conflict may be increased because he discovers that his old outlook on life, his commitment to violent resposnes, and his time-tested ways of responding to subordinates and to crises now seem to be inadequate. In the face of nonviolent action, these ways fail to produce the expected results. This factor may be especially important where the opponent has believed in the omnipotence of violence. With both his objectives believed in the omnipotence of violence. With both his objectives frustrated and his means of action ineffective, the opponent's response in uncertain. He may pursue his objectives and sanctions more ruthlessly. Or, he may become receptive to suggestions for ways out of the crisis, and to new ideas which may lead to fundaments conversion.

The factors influencing the *conversion* mechanism can be divided into those which are "external" factors (inherent in the conflict situation and outside the direct control of the nonviolent group) and "internal" factors (which are directly under its control). The external factors include :

1) the relative conflict of interest between the groups;

2) the social distance between the groups (whether the subordinates are regarded as fellow human beings, and members of a common moral order);

3) the personality structure of the opponents;

4) the degree to which the two groups share common beliefs and norms of behavious; and

5) praise or condemenation by third parties.

The "internal factors include :

1) refraining not only from physical violence but also from personal hostility to the opponent;

2) attempting to gain the opponent's trust, as by openness concerning intentions, etc.

3) refraining from humiliating the opponent;

4) making visible sacrifices for their cause;

5) carrying on constructive work, self-improvement, and wider humanitarian activities;

6) maintaining personal contact with the opponents, as by discussions and letters;

7) demonstrating trust of the opponent; and

8) developing empathy, good will and patience toward the opponent personally.

For a variety of reasons in any particular case, efforts to convert an opponent by nonviolent suffering may be ineffective and fail to produce the desired result. Also some nonviolent actionists may reject conversion as undesirable, unnecessary or impossible. Hence they may seek change by the mechanism of accomodation or of nonviolent coercion. In most situation, the outcomes are likely to result from pressures produced by the three mechanisms. The most successful applications of nonviolent action may involve their wise and deliberate combination.

ACCOMMODATION

Accommodatione, as a machanism of nonviolent action, takes an intermediary position between conversion and nonviolent coercion, The opponent is neither converted nor nonviolently coreced; yet there are elements of both involved in his decision to grant concessions to the nonviolent actionists. This probably the most common mechanism of the three in successful nonviolent campaigns. In accommodation, the opponent resolves to grant the demands, wholly or partiallly, without fundamentally changing his mind about the issues involved.

Accommodation is therefore similar to nonviolent coercion, in that both mechanisms bring success by changing the social situation by nonviolednt action rather than focussing on changing the opoenent. If the situation in which the opponent operates and within which the conflict is taking place is sufficiently changed, old options may be eliminated and new ones created. Bastic power relationships may change so as to alter the entire picture.

In accommodation, although the desired change is made in response to the changed situation, it occurs while the opponent still can make an efffective choice, and before significant nonviolent coercion has occurred. The degree to which the opponent accepts this change as a result of influences which might have converted him, or influences which might have coerced him will vary; both types of influences may be present in the same case.

Through the conversion elements of accommodation, the opponent may become convinced, on the other hand, that continued repression is inappropriate. Although not converted, the suffering of nonviolent actionists may have moved the opponent to see them as fellow human beings, against whom the continued infliction of violence is no longer tolerable. or, the opinions of third parties may be important to him, so that he acts in order not to "lose face" still more, Sometimes the opponent may grant some or all of the demands to the actionisits simply beacuse' he regards the group as a nuisance which can be eliminated by making concessions to them.

Thus, although he is pertectly capable of continuing the repression and still does not agree with the demands, the opponent may find that the nonviolent actionists are not such terrible people as may have been supposed, and that however the issues may stand, severe repression is now something he does not want to inflict on them. He may thus resolve the inner conflict induced by the nonviolent struggle.

One consequence of nonviolent action may be the creation or deepening of internal dissension and actual oppostition within the opponent's own group This discord is most likely to focus on the contested policies or the repression of nonviolent actionists, but may often also appear in the guise of conflicts over personalities or other policis. Aware of this fact, the opponent may wish to cut the ground form under his critics by setting the conflict through accommodation to the demands, In economic struggles accommodation may arise from a desire to minimize the financial and material losses, especially from strikes and economic boycotts.

Through the coercion influences of accommodation, the opponent may concede because he perceives that if the struggle continues he will eventually be defeated, therefore; he trises to avoid the humiliation of defeat, and perhaps more severe losses, by accepting change gracefully. In some cases the social and political situation may have changed so much that while the opponent has not been nonviolently coerced, he could not easily pursue an earlier intended course of action.

The opponent may also decide to accommodate to the demands while he still has freedom of action; this will largely depend on his anticipation of the future development of the conflict. In spite of what he says publicly, if he anticipates that the nonviolent movement will grow in strength, he may be inclined to accede to the demands voluntarily. The specific immediate issues at stake may seem to be of less importance than the possible consequences of a protracted struggle, particularly if the populace learns the power it can wield through nonviolent action. A face-saving formula may be important in a settlement resulting from accommodation.

The following factors will be influential in deciding whether a nonviolent action struggle is settled by accommodation:

1) the degree of conflict of interest;

2) all of the factors that influence the conversion mechanism;

3) the actual and potential degree of sympathy and support for the nonviolent actionists, or for their cause, in the opponent's own group;

4) the actual and potential degree of symparthy and support for the nonviolent actionsists among third parties;

5) the degree of effectiveness or ineffectiveness of repression and other counter measures;

6) the presence and extent of economic losses, direct or indirect;

7) the estimated persent and future strength of the nonviolent actionists;

8) the estimated chances of victory and defeat and their consequences.

These factors will vary from case to case, both in the degree to which they are present and in their differing proportions and combinations.

NONVIOLENT COERCION

In many situations, neither conversion nor accommodation will be achieved, for some opponents will remain unwilling to grant any demands to the nonviolent actionists. If attempts to achieve conversions or accommodation fail when tried, or if the seem so unlikely to succeed that they are not attempted, then a third mechanism of change remains open to the actionists: nonviolent corecion. Through this mechanism, it is possible to win demands against the will of the opponent.

Nonviolent coercion may be produced in any of three was. First the defiance may become too widespread and massive to be controlled by repression (This refers to repression employed to achieve submission of the subjects. An attempt deliberately to exterminate a whole population is very different from repression. Resistance to genocide requires major research[7]) Second, non-cooperation may make it impossible for the social, economic and political system to continue to operate unless the actionists demands are achieved. Finally, even the opponent's ability to apply repression may be undermined and at time dissolved. In any of the cirucumstances, or in any combination of them, despite the opponent's determination to refuse to change his policies or system, he may find that he is unable to defend or restore them in the face of determined and widespread nonviolent action.

Coercion is not limited to the threat or use of violence, as is commonly thought, Neither the Oxford English Dictionary nor Webster's dircitionary restrict coercion to pressures derving from violence Two theorists of nonviolent action have clarified this:

Coercion is the use of either physical or intangible force to compel action contrary to the will or reasoned judgement of the individual or group subjected to such force[8].

Coercion ...... is taking away form the opponent either his ability to maintain the status quo or his ability to effect social chage[8].

There is, however, a vast difference between "nonviolent coercion" and "violent coercion". While the latter involves the deliberate intention to inflict physical injury or death, the former arises from a refusal of the nonviolent group to submit in the face of violent repression, from the noncooparation and defiance, despite the opponent's violence.

Nonviolent coercion occurs under two condtions. First, it happens when the opponent's will is blocked and the system is parlyzed by noncooperation and defiance the nonviolent actionsits and grievance group, despite his continued efforts to imposes his will. For example, changes from the status quo are made even though he opposes the changes, or changes he desires are prevented from occurring while he still applies pressures and sanctions on their behalf. This frustration of his efforts is usually directly proportionate to the massiveness of the actionists' non-cooperation and defiance.

Second, nonviolent coercion occurs when even the opponent's ability to act to implement his will is destroyed. This immobilization of his capacity to act is usually achieved by the break-down of support and obedience on his own side, as when his soldires and police mutiny, his bureaucracy refuses assistance, of his population withdraws authority and support.

The first of these conditions for nonviolent coercion - blockage by noncooperation and defiance - is more common; the second immobilization of the opponent's capacity to act - may or may not accompany it. This is not an inevitable pattern, however, and it may be reversed. In all cases of nonviolent coercion, nonviolent action has so altered the social and political situation that the opponent can no longer wield his power contrary to the wishes of the nonviolent group.

Nonviolent action thus makes possible "coercion through nonparticipation."[10] it becomes coercive when the actionists succeed directly or indirectly in withholding significantly the neces-sary sources of the opponent's political power. As discussed in Chapter One, there are six major sources; (1) authority; (2) human resources; (3) skills and knowledge; (4) intangible factors; (5) material resources; and (6) sanctions.

These sources of the opponent's power are all potentially valnerable to direct or indirect control by the nonviolent group using a widespread, qualitative attack by nonviolent action . Changes in the availability of these sources will determine the degree of the regime's political power.

The precise ways in which the availability of these sources is severed will vary. Not only will there be differences in what spectific methods of this technique are used; variation also occurs in who severs the sources of power: the nonviolent actionists third parties or disenchanted mem-bers of the opponent's own group. There will also be variations in the directness of the withdrawal of cooperation which cuartils and power sources, ranging from open refusel and defiance, with-holding of new support while continuing old forms, to inefficiency in carrying out orders.

The strategy, tactics, and methods used will be among the factors which determine which power sources will be affected and the degree to which they are reduced or severed

REMOVING THE SOURCES OF POWER

Nonviolent action may reduce the availbility of each of the sources of political power in the following ways.

(1) Authority. The nonviolent challenge to the opponent offers a clear demonstration of the degree to which his authority is already undermined. The struggle may help to clienate more people who have previously supported the opponent. This may be done by the actionnists' focus-.

sing attention on undesireable charcterstics of the opponent's system and policies and by the opponent's repression against the nonviolent volunteers.

At times there will be a clear transfer of loyalty from the opponent to a rival authority. This may be a religious or moral system, a political or social principle, a political ideology, of movement or party. In extreme cases, it may even be a rival parallei government, Difficult tactical problems occur when a parallel government emerges while the old one continues to exist. When this new government is supported by significant genuine strength, it could be the final blow in destroying the old system.

(2) Human resources. Widespread nonviolent action may also reduce or sever the human resources necessary to the opponent's political power by withholding the general obedience and co-operation of masses of subjects who maintain and operate the system. The sheer numercial multiplication of noncooperating, disobedient and defiant members of the grievance group creates severe enforcement problems for the opponant. In addition the struggle may lead to a related withdrawal of cosents by the opponent's traditional supporters reducing his power further.

The withdrawal of human resources will also affect other needed sources (skills, knowledge, and material resources). Thus the opponent requires greater power at the very time that his enforcement capacity is being reduced. If the resistance grows while the opponent's power weakens, eventually the regime may become powerless. Nonviolent action in the political arena may produce results comparable to an effective strike in the industrial arena. Noncooperation of members may paraliyze the system.

(3) Skills and knowledge. The availability of skills and knowledge necessary to the opponent is rarely the same as the percentage of the populace supporting the regime. Certain people or groups possess special skills or knowledge of particular importance; these include special administrators, officials, technicians and advisors Just as their continued assistance significantly aids the opponent, withdrawal of their assistance dis proportionately weakens his power.

In addition to outright refusal, reduced assistance may also be important Internal conflicts within the regime-which may be caused or accentuated by nonviolent action-will also weaken the opponent's power by limiting the availability of skills and knowledge.

(4) Intangible factors : Habits of obedience and commitment to authority may also be threathed by widespread nonviolent action.

Destroying the habit of unquestioning obedience does not necessarily mean increased disobedience, but it does involve more conscious choice to obey or disobey, based on an increased willigness to evaluate the regime's policies before supporting them. The nonviolent action may reflect the development of an outlook which challenges the offical one. In other cases the practice of nonvolent action may create situations which cause others to question the adequacy of the established doctrines. Events may refute dogmas.

(5) Material resources ;: Nonviolent action may regulate the availability of material resources to the opponent control of the economic system, transportation, means of communication, financial resources, raw materials, and the like.

A large proporation of nonviolent action methods are variations of the strike or economic boycott. The history of the labor movment demostrates the considerable power that can be wielded by these types of economic noncooperation. Economic boycotts and refusal of revenue may reduce the economic benefits of the opponent's political domination International action by trade boycotts and embargoes may assist the nonviolent actionists.

(6) Sanctions : Even the opponent's ability to apply sanctions may on occasion be influenced by nonviolent action. His supply of arms may be threatened by a foreign country's refusal to sell them, or by strikes in the munitions factories and transportation system. In some cases the numbers of agents of repression police and troops may be curtailed as men decline to volunteer and potential conscripts refuse duty.

Police and troops may carry out orders ineffciently or may refuse them completely, ie., mutiny. Mutiny appears to be more likely during nonviolent struggle than when policemen and soldiers face personal dangers from violent resisters or enemy troops. Against the nonviolent actionists, police and troops may face moral and psychological dilemmas resulting from catrying out acts of severe repression against a nonretaliating, but determined group of resisters. As a result, these agents may experience lowered morale and begin to question the justice of the orders and political policies they are executing. This may lead to a laxity in obeying orders and perhaps to open mutiny, though mutiny is likely only under social circumstances. Mutiny or deliberate inefficiency will occur when the troops or police experience conversion, even while the leaders of the opposition remain unmoved.

The conversion of the troops and police on a large scale may produce the nonviolent coercion of the opponent. A major mutiny of troops and police, or significant laxity in orders is bound to alter radically the power relationships. It will reduce to alter radically the power relationships. It will reduce the opponent's capacity to refuse the demands of the nonviolent group, or to maintain the objectionable policy or system.

A variety of factors operate to produce nonviolent coercion. Variation will exist in the sources of power affected, and degree to wihch they are severed. Depending on the pattern producing the nonviolent coercion (mutiny, massive defiance, or economic or political paralysis), some or all of the following factors will be influential in determining the outcome:

(1) the numbers of nonviolent actionists (numerically, and their proportion in the general population)

(2) the degree of the opponent's dependence on the nonviolent actionists for sources of his power:

(3) the skill of the nonviolent actionists in applying the technique, including the choice of strategy, tactics and methods, and their ability to implement these :

(4) the length of time that the defiance and noOncooperation can be maintained;

(5) the degree of sympathy and support for the nonviolent actionists by third parties;

(6) the means of control open to the opponent and used by him to force a resumption of cooperation and to induce consent, and the reaction of nonviolent actionsts to those means;

(7) the degree to which the oppoent's subjects, administrators, aides and agents support or refuse to suport him, and the action that they may undertake to support the nonviolent actionists; and

(8) the opponent's estimation of the probable future course of the nonviolent action movement.

THE END OF THE STRUGGLE

Defeat in immediate political terms is always possible in nonviolent action just as it is in traditional war or other types of political violence. If the grievance group does not possess as yet sufficient internal strength, determination, ability to act and to persist, to make nonviolent action effective against their opponent, then repetition of the words and slogans associated with this technique will not save them, There is no substitute for genunine strength in nonviolent action. If the grievance group does not possess it sufficiently to cope with the opponent.

At the end of some campaigns (just as with military campaigns) it may be difficult to speak of clear "success" or "failure", for elements of both may be present. The reuslt may be a "draw" or an interim settlement. Sometimes the demands may only partially be own . The particular struggle must often be seen in the wider context of a series of campaigns and of its contribution to the later struggles and relationships, as by its effects on the grievance group, the opponent, and third parties.

In other cases a fuller victory may have been achieved. The struggle then may or may not be terminated with negotiation and a formal agreement. In some cases the opponent may simply institute or accept the change. In extreme cases the opponent's regime may completely collapse or disintegrate.

In the long run, the most significant results are likely to be the impact of the struggle on the resolution of the issues at stake, on the attitudes of the groups toward each other, and on the distribution of power between and within the contending groups. In all these respects the contributions of nonviolent struggle are highly significant.

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1. For a fuller discussion of the dynamics and mechanisms of nonviolent action, see Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action,* Part Three (Boston : Porter Sargent, 1973), pp. 448-817, or in the pareback edition, Part Three, The *Dynamics of Nonviolent Action* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1974). Parts of this chapter originally appeared in Gene Sharp, "Mechanisms of change in Nonviolent Action." in Harvey A Hornestein, Barbara Benedict, Warner Burke, Marian Hornstein and Roy Lewicki, eds., Social Intervention : A Behavioral Science Analysis (New York ; Free press, 1971), pp. 546-557.

2. See Napolean. *The Officer's Manual or Napolean's Maxims of War,* Maxim XVI (New York : James G Gregory, 1861), pp 58-59, and B.H. Liddell Hart, *Strategy : The Indirect Approach* (New York' Frederick A, Praeger, 1954 and London : Faber and Faber, 1954), p.25.

3. See, for example, Liddel Hart, *Strategy* pp, 24-25.

4. M.K. Gandhi, *Satyagraha* (Ahmedabad : Navajivan, 19610, 57.

5. This roughly follows Lakey's similar discussion, with certain changes See Géorage Lakey. *The Sociological Mechanisms of Non-violent Action,* M.A. thesis Sociology University of Pennsylvania, 1962), P. 23; published in *Peace Research Reviews* (Oakville, Ontario: Canadian peace Research Institute), vol. II, no. 6, whole number Dec. 1968).

See also Gene Sharp, *The politics of Nonviolent* Action, pp. 705-776, for a full discussion of these three mechanisms.

6. Lakey, *The Sociological Mechanisms of Nonviolent* Action, p. 20.

7. See Gene Sharp, *Social power and political Freedom*, Chapter One, "Rethinking politics" Chapter Three, "The Lesson of Eichmen," "Chapter Four, "Facing Dictatorships with Confidence," and Chapter Eleven, "The Societal Imperative" (Boston ; Porter Sargent, 1980), pp. 1-20, 69-112, and 285-308.

8. Theodore Paullin, *Introduction to Nonviolence Philadelphia* : pacifist Research Bureau, '944), p.6.

9. Lakey, *The Sociological Mechanisms of Nonviolent Action,* p.18.

10. E.T. Hiller, *The Strike : A Study in Collective Action* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 125.

Lesson - 22

TRAINING FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION - SHANTI SENAL :

a) Introductory

According to Gandhi truth and nonviolence are the two sides of the same coin and Satyagraha is a direct corollary of truth and nonviolence. Writing in his autobiography, he says;

"In the application of Satyagraha, I discoverd, in the earliest stages, that pursuit of Truth did not admit violence being inflicted on one's opponent, but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be the truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of Truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but one's own self". Continuing the thoguth further he says :

Satyagraha is gentle, it never wounds. It must not be the result of anger or malice. It is never fussy, never impatient, never vociferous. It is the direct opposite of compulsion, it was conceived as a complete substitute for violence". - Harijan, 15-4-3.

"The fight of Satyagraha is for the strong in spirit not the doubter or the timid. Satyagraha teaches us the act of living as well as dying. Birth and death are inevitable among mortals. What distinguishes the man from the brute is his conscious striving to realize the spirit within".

- Harijan 7-4-4'

With this end in view, Gandhiji developed a methodology acquiring the essential knowledge of Satyagraha through a frame work of disciplines, systemactic training and organisation. Satyagraha is a growing field of knowledge. It is the science in the making. As Gandhiji himself puts, "I have no text book to consult in time of need, not even the Gita which I have called my dictionary". When he began to translate his innermost convictions to act on in the living enviorment around him, he found the way in which ahimsa is implemented is situations where normally only brute force was taken to be the only recourse to establish justice whether social, political or economic.

"I have never claimed to be the one original Satyagraha. What I have claimed is the application of that doctrine on an almost universal scale, and yet remains to be seed and demonstrated that it is a doctrine which is capable of assimilation by thousands upon thousands of peoples in all ages and claims".

It is therefore the drawing out the power - potential of moral forces in an that Gandhi addressed himself to when the launched his experiments in Satyagraha. It means working with the common people in the work - day world with all its day to day problems affecting the well-being of all men living together - Individual attainments in that practice of non-violence did exert a large influence in changing the atmosphere of fear while trading path of collective non-violent action when pitched against apparently inviscible brutal force. But what was more important was to stablise faith in the efficency of moral resistance when offered collectively without malice or hatred esliwing all thought of matching the brute by the bruta In man. For this purpose Gandhi was clear

in his mind that in every walk of life based on Satyagraha a specific man centred organisation and a life-centred training in basic disiplines for non-violent action are fundamental to impart permanence to the Science of Satyagraha.

Organisation and nonviolent action

Gandhiji built up three kinds of organisations for the practical application of the principles of truth and nonviolence as he conceived it.

i) A residential work centre for those who were totaly committed to the principles of nonviolence a creed and who have dedicated themselves for an integrated life of a Satyagrahi. This he called an "Ashram'.

ii) Organisation for constructive work to reconstruct the entire society on the priniciples of nonviolence as basic to social, political, economic and spiritual institution in the contemporary environment. The All India spinners' Association, The Village Industries Association. Harijan Sevak Sangh, Go Seva Sangh, Talimi Sangh, Hindi prachar Sabha are some of the major institutions he founded on principle.

iii) Organisations to mobilise mass support for nonviolent struggles aganist tyranny and oppression of every hue and description, The Natal Indian, The Satyagraha Sabha, The Home Rule League. Khilafat Conference, the Indian National Congress. Khudai Khidmatgars all came under Gandhi's total influence and accepted his generalship of the struggle for Justice throught nonviolence.

In all these organisation the Satyagraha way of life as enunciated by Gandhiji was accepted as foundation for a super structure. The disciplines for membership were prescribed on the basis of building up cadres of Satyagrahis pledged to the principles of selfless and sacrifice.

Lessons of South Africa

When we examine the various Satyagraha struggles led by Gandhiji from his South African days in 1907, to the quit-India movement of 1942, we find a consisency a systematic and well-orgainsed approach emerging in all its fullness and awareness bringing an imperishable value content to this resplendent and unique war without violence.

Gandhiji writes in his book Satyagraha in South Africa the "Satyagraha had not been a preconceived plan, It came on spon aneously without having willed it. But I could see that all my previous steps had let up to that goal". This was in 1906. soon after this the pledge taken by the first batch of Satyagrahis at Johanesburg on September 11, 1906 was explanied by Gandhjji thus "brute force had absolutely no place in the Indian movement in any circumstance... on matter how badly they suffered, Satyagrahis never used physical force..... Satyagraha is a soul force pure and simple".

At the first Satyagraha struggle of boycotting the ill-famed permit office in Pretoria, the posters for education of satyagrahis ran thus "Boycott permit office by going to jail. We do not resist but suffer for our common good and self-respects Loyaity to the king demands loyalty to the King of Kings (God), Indians be free".

This training in self-suffering without malice and hatred towards the oppression had to be evolved by Gandhiji through the series of experiments in the practice of non-violent living he had begun all by himself. His comrades in the struggle at the South African Campaign for civil rights were all common labourers without much of a formula education, They were all adult men and women most of them householders. On the eve of the final settlement of his historic struggle in South Africa. Gandhiji wrote" The suffering of our countrymen sealed the settlement. The discovery was made that this ancient force could be applied in South Africa. conviction made after this suffering of eight long drawn out years" (*complete works,* Vol. XII, P 525).

During all these years apart from the organisation of open struggle during the agitations, Gandhiji also forged the idea of community living on Ashram lines.

In her analytical study of Gandhian nonviolence and India's freedom struggle". Dr. Asha Rani observes "To evoke the infinite-stimulus of power latent in such a mass of unsophisticated people in South Africa, and to use the same to the best advantagem the highest need was to set a personal example of practice, inexhaustible patience and perseverance in the littlest of little things in life.... Gandhiji was still on the threshold of his public life. Nonviolence had not yet fully entered into his ken. He know that man is a traditional being. If the truth as told, his conduct would be transformed".

"The South African struggle was the first great example of the social and political application of Nonviolence on a mass scale"....... He had gone there to succeed as a barrister and a mass money but retuned as a mature leader of Satyagraha predging him-self to a life of an a parigrahi. There was areligious charming in him for he read scriptures of the Hindus, Chritians and Islam. He was well versed with the thought of Tolstoy and Ruskin, Thoreau, Emerson and others. In 1908 alone in Pretoria, he read about eighty books on religion says Pyarelal. This moulded his personal life and outlook and was latter to influence the whole thinking of humanity. He had made an epochal social invention Satyagraha.

Analysis of Violence

Violence tends to organise itself quickly and more spontaneously than nonviolence because the power of violence is only on the physical plane: Might is always the sanction behind violent action to resolve any problem individual or social.

Ever since the dawn of history the science of was has by and large developed organisations dependent on brute force or armed force. The enforcement of justice in society has been deliberately delegated to the wielders of superior fighting powers with training for effective use of sophisticated armaments. The State, both ancient and modern seeks to build up its authority over the populance by a display ot its power of organised violence both direct andn indirect. Whether it be a feudal king or the prime minister of a democratic state, the state is based on its capacity to suppress by force all opposition in its operation. It is therefore an imperative need. There fore Gandhiji of a modern political state to depend hearvity on the effectiveness says that "The state represent violence in a concentralid and organised form. Of its armed forces in the task of keeping peace both within and without the borders of its territory of ruling authority.

On the other hand, people in revolt against any injustice in society often also orgainse. The individual has a soul but a State is a soulless machine it can never be delinked from violence to which it owes its very existence.

Power of Nonviolence

"Violence seeks power, to nonviolence power accrues". This succinct statement of Gandhiji epitomises the nature of organising the forces of nonviolence for an effective management of a just society., As stated earlier, there is an ingrained. sense of reliance on violent organisation to keep the brute in an under social control. It is often forgotten, that succeeding power here is in the nature of a stronger brute rather than any superior moral force. The habit of obedience to a stronger brute force is the fear of being subject to body injury or physical suffering. The tyrant who exercises his will over others knows that most people suffer from this fear. The moment people make up their will to suffer and even lay down their lives to uphold moral values and shed the sense of fear, the confidence of the physical might collapses. Unless one has a morally superior cause to force the will to dominate will be of no avail. A collective will of disciplined people refusing to obey unjust compulsions perpetuated by any of the human agencies that operate in society will successfully persuade the offending party only when it adopts the power of nonviolence.

When we examine these types of organisation that Gandhiji founded and worked so as to bring out the desired effect of Satyagraha as he conceived it, we see in them the principles of organising the nonviolence on social plane.

K.G. Mashruwala one of the greatest exponents of nonviolence who lived and worked with Gandhiji puts forth a few basic postulates on which Satyagraha techniques are built. He writes in his booket, *Practical nonviolence* (Navajivan publishing House).

"I believe that a vast majority human beings abhor violence and malevolence. They like to practice benevolence to a certain extend, and respect it always. The majority is the largest in civilizations built upon agriculture industries and commercent civil and peaceful life. It is less in no madicand private civilizations and in people whost living depends upon military occupations and war industries--------".

"The average man loves his home, family and possess as, his country and his people. He is not prepared to give up these altogether. So he will fight for them. How he sholud do so is a question for his rulers and leaders to decide. He is simple and in the absence of proper guidance and training, may resort to spontaneous and unplanned violence. But he is willing to be guided by a trusted leader. He will follow a Babar, a Shivaji or a Hitler as also a Buddha or a Gandhi with equal real and loyalty". And Mashruwala opines that if we cannot organise oursleves for nonviolence sufficiently and satifactorrily, our attempts to be organised for violence will be the weakest and most dangerous to ourselves".

So the art and science of Satyagraha is dependent on an effective way of organising this power of nonviolence which is the law of human beings.

It was Gandhiji's genious that brought forth in abundant measure an organised of process of unfolding the potentialities, the potentialities of what he called the 'Soul-force'. In Vinoba's words

Satyagraha is a spiritual power. It is neither physical nor psychical. Science has relegated psychology to a secondary place. Hence it is imperative that a search for Satyagraha be made by rising above the mind and soaring into the realm the super mind".

Structural Basements:

As stated earlier, Gandhiji experimented with organisations a three levels. The Ashram, the service-organisations and national level people's organisations for a direct non-violent struggle for freedom. In all these three types of organisations, the basic principles were self-respect, self-reliance and self-control. He strove to drive home into every individual "To live for", as well as "in Mankind.

K.G. Mashruwala in his treatise "Practical Non-violence builds up a structured argument to support the need for organisation for the practice of non-violence on both the individual and mass levels.

"An idea. Seems to be correct that non-violence does not gain much by organisations particularly when its purpose is to offer resistance to violence ..... It is argued non-violence is best orgainsed by not attempting to organise it at all. It also said that organisations send to violence while non-organisation to non-violence".

Mashruwala refutes this view by saying that "In our present political and economic situation, the greater the decentralisation (consistently with orderly and disciplined units of small organisations) the easier will it be to organise stiff non-violent resistance". Chapter 14

Even as it is necessary to organise forces of violence if they have to be effective, the force of nonviolence have also to be consciously and deliberately organized in a planned manner to effectively resist violence of all depreciations. The difference in these two types of organisations is that whereas the human being is dehumanised by regimentation for violence, the individual in a non-violent organisation becomes supremely conscious of the spirit within and the whole society gets transformed to respect the moral law that governs the conduct of the humans in contrast to the best.

The organisation for nonviolence according to Gandhiji should first and foremost be based on moral principles of truth and non-violence. It must be constructive in its activities so as to offer positive alternatives to the existing evil structures of exploitation that operate in economic, political and social life of man.

Organisation for Satyagraha aims at building up collective moral and spiritual forces inherent in the human constitution by putting them to the disciplines of Constructive work. Haridas T. Muzumdar, an associate of Gandhiji in Sabarmathi and participant in the Dandi March 1930, in his remarkable book introducing Mahatma Gandhi to American youth written in 1952. (*Mahatma Gandhi peaceful Revolutionary,* published by Twentieth Century Library, New York) makes an analytical study of "Soul force" design for living. He describes the organised way in which Gandhiji rained every participant of the Dandi March. He remarks "In his dramatization of non-violent war, Gandhi appreciated the utility of spectacle parade, mass attraction..... There is something impressive and dynamic about large groups doing the same thing in unison, Gandhi's great March in South Africa

and his March to the Sea in India roused an exhilaration albeit nonviolent, such as would be felt by an army marching off to war. These marches generated power-power in Gandhiji's volunteers, power in the masses. This technique of power may be used legitimately and successfully by anybody regardless of race and class provided the cause be just" (Page. 32).

Muzumdar further explains :

"As an experimenter life, he had early concluded that true life must be lived within the framwork oif the twin principles, Satya (Truth) and Ahimsa (Nonviolence). All else followed from this. Add a third principle--concern for the well being of others, especially of the under-privileged, the wronged and the oppressed and we have the basic requirements of great leadership. The eight fold vow at the Satyagraha Ashram can be traced to one or the other of these principles".

Gandhiji realised that "when the peasent fully awakness to a sense of his plight and the fact that his helpless state in not due to Kismet, but to the exiting rule, he will unaided - in his impatience abolish all distinctions between the constitutional and the unconstitutional even the violent and the nonviolent means" (*Feadulkar Mahatma* III/P.10) But he firmly believed that only Satyagraha could rid India of the possibility of violence spreading and smashing hopes of true Swaraj for the masses. His faith in the power of nonviolence and appeal to traditional basic human values helped to channel a potentially revolutionary movement in a direction which could never lead to the breaking up of the power of the masses.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE FPROGRAMME AND NONVIOLENCE

1. The concept of nonviolence with Gandhiji was not a negative concept of avoiding violence by compromising with any unjust and evil establishment in society whether it be political, social economic or religious. His was a philosophy of nonviolence that wove itself into every aspect of daily living and expressed itself in the smallest act of its votary. And so his struggle for independence and two primary wings-the political nonviolent campaign of the people as a whole and the involvement of the entire mass of human beings in constructive non-exploitative life giving activities. He was never tired emphasing the importance of devoted constructive activity as necessary preparation to any struggle for institutional transformation for the benefit of all. It was a continuous process of evolution, education, freedom and nonviolence, He said.

"The constructive programme may otherwise and more fittingly be called constructive of *Poorna swaraj* or complete independence by truthful and nonviolent means....

The whole theme of corporate nonviolence falls to pieces it there is on living faith in the constructive programme...... Shorn of Constructive programme, civil disobedience is a method of violence bound to prove ineffective in the end.

Trust begotten in the pursuilt of continuous constructive work becomes a tremendous asset at the critical moment..... Individual civil disobedience among an unprepared people and by leaders not known to or trusted by men is of no avail, and mass civil disobedience is an impossibility (*Constructive Programme & Young India, Vol* 42).

As the canvass of the all pervading struggle of the Indian people to break the chains of slavery not only of the political and economic strange hold of imperialism but also of the shackles

of obsolete anti-social and dehumanising social and religious customs and practices, covered the entire life of the people from the lowest rung to the topmost levels. Gandhiji spelt out a comprehensive eighteen point programme of work covering all these aspects. They were all put on a systematic basis constituting a dynamic movement for ushering in a nonviolent order for a Sarvodaya Society.

II. The Gandhian Constructive Programme can be divided into four categories :

(a) The economic ; - Production for use in a decentralised method where instruments of production are entirely under the ownership at the labouring force - Khadi, Village Industries, Economic, equality welfare of Kisans and labour, come under this category.

(b) Life relationship : Collective effort for better living, and rousing a consciousness of social responsibilities - village sanitation, health and hygiene, women's welfare, prohibition, adivasis and lepers fall under the second category.

(c) Religious harmony and justice : To deepen faith in the spiritual and moral values and purge society of the intolerable irrational rituals.

Communal unity, removal of untouchability, cow protection come under the third.

(d) Educational progress : Basic education, adult education provincial language., National language and student welfare come under the fourth.

III. We see a close link between Satyagraha and Constructive Programme in as much as each one of them calls forth for a complete acceptance of nonviolence and socio-economic justice as a preconditrion in practice. It is a preparation and raining for unilaeral declaration of Village Swaraj of the Gandhian perspective on the basis of self-support in basic needs of simple - living. The courage and the moral strength of the downtrodden can be aroused only through a promise of an alternative for self-dependence when the oppressive tyrants hold them to rasom and cut off the basic needs of life from their reach. Gandhji wrote in *Young India* on 2-2-1928.

"The message of the spinning wheel is really, to replace the spirit of exploitation by the spirit of service. The dominant not in the west is the not of exploitation. I haven no desire that our country should copy that spirit or that note".

(The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi)

Satyagraha according to Gandhiji is a way of life determining the permanent contents of a nonviolent society with just and human relationships. The political emanicipation of India was a part of the nonviolent struggle of the whole of that mute majority of people that aspire for permanent peace for total development. The narrow definition of Satyagraha that it is only a methods of nonviolent resistance to oppressive and unjust State power and has no place in established free democracies is not a correct view. The assimilation of the spirit of Satyagraha by whole society is the only assimilation of the spirit of Satyagraha by whole society is the only guarantee for the supremacy of the power of society over the mechanism of governance called the State. Gandhiji wrote :

"India has been enslaved for so long, that it has killed all its initiative and originality in us and has filled us with the paralysis of desdain. The constructive work cannot make headway without a resuscitation of these lost qualities in us and the attainment of independence through nonviolence and truth must remain an empty dream unless the constructive work can be carried through to success".

The divorce between bodily labour and brainwork in modern industrial civilization has resulted in the unnatural division of the elite and the laity. The farmers who are in a small minority appropriates to itself the lion's share of all produced wealth in society. Gandhiji roused the conscience of the elitist intelligentia toa sense of their moral and spiritual bankruptcy in their style of living causing poverty and misero of the labouring millions. He also roused the sense of dignity and self respect in the poor and the downtrodden. He gave them courage and strength by a philosophy of self-reliance. He demanded social and economic justice to the lowliest and the last. The constructive programme as his nonviolent instrument of struggle in Satyagraha.

IV. The Constructive programme has also given a sound social economic manifesto to the Satyagraha movement for poorna swaraj. Each of the eighteen items of the programme is capable of expanding to cover every given context on the basis of Gandhian values of life. Gandhiji while addressing a mammoth public meeting at Ramgrah Session of the Indian National Congress on March 20, 1940 observed.

"There is a vital connection between Satyagraha and Constructive work. More I find that belief challenged the more I am confirmed in it. Otherwise I am no fool to persist in turning the 'Charka' day in and day out, at home and even on trains in the teeth of medican advise :......I would fight only as a representative of those dumb millions for whom I live and for whom I want to do My loyalty to them is greater than any other loyalty and it is for them that I would not give up the Charka even if you were to forsake me or kill me. For I know that. If I were to relax the conditions of the Chakra. I should bring ruin upon the dumb millions for whom I have to answer before God". This passionate plea for the acceptance philosophy of the charka expressess eloquently the importance and the emphsis Gandhiji placed on the dynamic significance of the entire constructive programme in Satyagraha. He called the spinning wheel the central sun around which the other items fof his constructive programme circled as planets.

Writing about his abhorence of untouchability and vigorous movement to eradicate it Gandhiji remarked "It is of importance to me because it enables me to demonstrate the efficacy of passive resistance in social question and when I take the final step, it will embrace Swaraj and all that it implies".

Satyagraha according to Gandhiji is not only a negative reaction of non-cooperation with evil forces in all fields of our social living but a positive process of purging the individual and the society of in human and irrational dogmas and shibboleths that have corroded and plagued the history of man. He said "non co-operation is a plea for a change of heart not merely in the English but in ourselves.

The need for training

Richard B. Gregg, in his *The power of nonviolence,* writes : "All of us are creatures of habit. Habits are necessary in order to save energy and enable us to use our minds. If I had to direct consciously every muscle in my legs to act in right tension and right sequence all the time I was walking. I would hardly have time enough even to steer in a certain direction to say nothing of planning what to do when I go to my destination. If I am active I have one kind of habits. if lazy I have another kind. Always I have some sort of habits. Hence I must chose which kind of habits I want to have: and, having chosen. I must then subject myself to the process of learning of habit formation. that, will produce that particular kind of habitual action. To be effective non-violent resistance must be habitual. To establish such a new habit calls for a somewhat prolonged process of habit formation".

We need a special type of traning for nonviolent action (satyagraha) and this may have some common feature with the military training. Dear reader, you can also refer to the lesson No, 22 Paper V. Construtive Work for a detailed discussion of this point.

But if one fails to understand the need for training and the reasons for and results of each detail in the training, it may become a meaningless ritual, and one then may become insincere,. But this can happen in any discipline - scientific, religious, aesthetic or military.

The training makes it easy for hundreds of thousands of people who are not saints to take up the non-violent action. Non-violent action is a tool and it is to be mastered by constant training and practice.

Training means perparation by participants for their own action aided in necessary by people who share their commitments and perceptions. Trianing is most successful when it is used to prepare for a situation. The value of training further increase if participants themselves suggest changes, thus making traning more relevant. Training enlarges and liberates people for action, that is creative by their own standards.

Kinds of training

Skills training, Theoritocal training, Competence and Confidence training. Crisis training and Training for organization are major kinds of training. Each one of them is important but they should be well integrated into a totality. Training may be perfection only through real action.

Methods of Traning

1) Role Playing

It is a type of simulations, exercise in which participants fill roles in a conflict situation, thus exploring the situation for its emotional as well as intellectual content. Socio-drama focuses on group and intergroup process rather than individual roles psycho-drama is as simulation exercise whicht explores conflicts within each role rather than the social conflict itself.

2) Situation Analysis

Is is a black board explanation with discussion which enable people to explore the range of possible tactics in a conflict situation.

3) Quick Decision Exercise

Problems are given and answers are expected within a very short period from the participants.

4) Strategy Games

The participants take the parts of opponents in a political social conflict, thus learning theories and consequences of strategies.

5) Street Speaking

It develops individual' conflidence and competence. Further it attracts the 'strangers'.

6) Guerrilia Theatre

A special type of public action, Unlike in role play, a skill is designed.

7) Shared Experience

It is essentially non-verbal, Dancing, singing, meditation, playing and working together, eating together and sports, are all possible shared experience through which participant come to know one another in ways which tend to develop trust which is essential in critical action situations.

8. Nontactical Training

It is a general term to describe such tools as group dynamics sensitivity training and other tools which seems to have no direct relationship to practical problems.

9. Journal - keeping (Diary Writing)

It is a traditional tool useful for self-assessment and critical reflection

10. Case Study

Indepth study of particular cases of nonviolent actions.

11. Lecture

It is a format for presenting theories and related information.

12. Discussion and Analysis

A method for presenting theories and also involving the participants in that process.

13. "Enabling Tools"

There are procedural tools which help a group achieve its goals. spliting into small groups for discussion, brain storming., etc.

Tendencies to be avoided

1) Acquiring the critical knowledge should not serve as a refuge against the practical.

2) The building of esoteric knowledge and elite formation should be avioded.

3) Training shoul not become a diversion from other critical problems.

Guidelines for Training

The discussion in this section as well in the previous two sections are based on Theodore Olson and Lynne Shiver's book.

Training for Nonviolent Action

1) Training for nonviolent action ought to prepare people for real situations.

2) Training is best done in situations of stress.

3) Training should be so structured as to provide practice skills quickly.

4) Training must provide for participant's responses and evaluations.

5) Training is subordinate to organizing

6) One goal of training should be to increase the capacity of participants to trian others.

Criticism : A warning

As mentioned elsewhere nonviolent action is natural to human beings and it is universally practised only thing is that we do not often recognize this fact. Even a small child uses various techniques of nonviolent action such as boycott noncooperation, fasting, strike, disobedience, etc. We in our relationship with our relatives and friends often use the various nonviolent techniques. The husband might have committed some mistakes. The wite may weep; she may refuse to take food; she may refuse to have sexual relation with him; she may even stage a walk - out by going to her and normal parent's home..... A loving husband usually yield to such actions. Nonviolent Action techniques have progressively been used in various and widely different spheres of activities.

Mahatma Gandhi not only extended the use of nonviolent action techniques to the various and widely different spheres of activities, unparalleled in history, but also made it possible even for the layman to use it.

It is no more a technique to be reserved for the saints and prophets but it is meant for all. Gandhi was aware of the fact that it may degenerate into vulgar forms. That is why he was stressing the need for truth and purity and vows and morals. But he was deadly against inaction. He even went to the extend of preferring violent action to inaction. If that is the case, he would have never supported inaction ibn the name of ideal and pure non-violent action. It is very unfortunate that most of the post-Gandhian leaders in the name of an imaginative ideal and pure satyagraha, have become totally inactive. This is certainly not Gandhian.

Books for further study :

1. *A Discipline for nonviolence*	-	Richard Gregg, Navajivan
2. *Practical Nonviolence*	-	K.G. Mashruwala
3. *Mahatma Gandhi's ideas*	-	C.F. Andrews Navajivan
4. *Gandhi : His life and thought*	-	Kripalani

5. *Politics of the Charka* - Kripalani

6. *War without violence* - Krishnalal Sridharani

7. *Nonviolence in Peace & War* - M.K. Gandhi

8. *Constructive Programme - Its meaning and place* - M.K. Gandhi

9. *Satyagraha* - M.K. Gandhi

10. *Gandhian as a social revolutionary* - Wilfred Wellock, Sarvodaya

11. *Gandhian Nonviolence and India's freedom struggle* - Asha Rani, (Published by Shree Publishing House Delhi-6)

12. *The Mind of Mahama Gandhiji* - R.K. Prabhu

13. *Training for Nonviolent Action* - Theodore Olson and Lynne Shiven

14. *The Power of Nonviolence* - Richard B. Gregg

For Shanti Sena, kindly refer to the lesson with the same title in Paper V *Construtive work and Human Liberation.*

Lesson - 23

ALTERNATIVE DEFENCE

A developing defense policy designed to deter and defeat both foreign military occupations and internal take-overs by prepared noncooperation and political defiance by trained populations. It employs social, economic, political, and psychological "weapons" (or sepcific methods of action). This policy would operate by preventing the attackers from ruling the attacked society, denying them their other objectives, subverting thier troops and functionaries, and mobilizing international opposition to the attack. All this is to be done in ways that are most difficult for the attackers to counter.

The term *civilian - based defense* indicates defense by civilians (as distinguished from military personnel) using civilian means of struggle. (as distinct from military or paramilitary means). Weapons of violence are not required and would in fact be counter productive. This policy has also variously been called "Social defense" "nonmilitary defense" and 'nonviolent defense." (However, the term *social defense* has also become closely associated with various ideological approaches to wider social change).

One of the ways in which civilian - based defence differs from convetional military defense is that it focuses on the defense of the society by the members and institutions of the society itself. This policy defends social and political space. not points of geography, terrain, or physical space. When successful, civilian - based defense of the society would lead to the geographical withdrawal of the invaders or collapse of the internal usurpers.

Instead of attempting to provide defense by fighting over geographical points, people applying civilian-based defense actively defend their way of life, institutions, and freedoms directly. The priorities of action are regarded as crucial. The maintenance of a free press. for example, or keeping the attackers' propaganda out of the schools, are seen to be of more direct importance to democracy and independence than, say, possession of a given mountain or **building**, or the killing of young conscripts in the invaders' army.

Civilian-based defense is based on the insight that attacks occur for some purpose. Possible purposes include replacing the government and establishing political control of the country. economic exploitation, ideological indoctrination, expansion of an empire, as well as others. An effective societal defense in considered possible because neither a coup nor an invasion immediately gives the attackers their specific objectives and control of the population, social institutions, and governmental structure. Even in the absence of resistance. those objectives and control take time and effort to achieve. In the face of well-prepared noncooperation and defiance, the achievement of those ends may not only be slowed, but may be blocked by a skilled and determined civilian population.

Theorists of civilian - based defense argue that it is important to understand clearly the meaning of defense as protection, preservation, and the warding off of dangers arising from attacks. Defense is not simply retaliation for an attack, nor should it be equated with military conflict in general. Deterrence as used in the literature of this field refers to the capacity to prevent an

attack by the perceived strength to repet it. Deterence, then, comes from the capacity to defend, not from the ability to retaliate, which may occur without any effective defense.

Civilian - based defense in meant to be waged on the foundation of advance preparations, planning, and training. These would be based upon the findings of basic research into this type of resistance and the systems of the attacker, and also upon intensive problems solving research. The latter needs to focus on ways to improve the effectiveness of such resistance, to meet impediments and to solve problems in its application, especially against ruthless regimes. Understanding the basic requirements for effectiveness of these forms of struggle and also of ways to aggravate weaknesses of the attackers regime is the foundation for developing successful strategies of civilian based defense.

Civilian based defence offers both widespread and selective non co-operation and political defence. This would involve the training of the population and leaders of institutions. This advance work would be comperable to, but more extensive than preparations for military welfare. The defensive measures involved are designed to be applied by the general population, particular population groups most affected by the attacker's objectives and actions, and by the various institutions of the society. Which of these are most involved differs with the attackers aims whether they are economic ideological, political or something else.

In the event of an attack, civilian defenders would aim to make the attacked society unrulable by foreign or internal aggressors; maintain control of their own society despite the attack, effectively resist the imposition of an unwanted government over the population (whether this is a foreign administration, a puppet regime, or a government of usurpers); convert the society's institutions into pervasive resistance organizations, deny the attackers their objectives; and make the costs of the attackers and attempted domination unacceptable to the attackers. In this struggle non co-operation by personnel and institutions and by departments and ministries should prevent the attackers from taking over the governmental structure. Meanwhile, the earlier policies and laws of the attacked regime would be respected and obeyed by the population. The people would work together through their independent associations and Institutions to meet their needs as far as possible without co-operation with the attackers.

In some circumstances the defenders would attempt to destroy the attackers military and administrative forces by subverting the loyalty and reliability of the attacker's troops and functionaries, especially in carrying out orders for repression and even to induce them to mutiny. They would also report the attack, resistance and repression to the population of the attacker's homeland or their usual supporters; encourage dissension and opposition among the attacker's home population and usual supporters stimulate international opposition to the attack by diplomatic, economic and public opinion pressures against the attackers and seek international support for the defenders in communications finances food diplomacy and other resources. The defense would thereby operate primarily in the attacked country. secondarily in the attacker's country or among their usual supporters and to some degree internationally.

The development of this defence policy which relies on massive nonviolent non co-operation and political defiance, has been greatly influenced by the following : (1) improvised defence

struggles against foreign invasions (the Ruhr in 1923 and Czechoslovakia in 1968-1969 for example) and against coups d'etat (Germany in 1920. France in 1961, and the Soviet Union in 1991) (2) the thinking of various social radicals and pacitists in Europe and the United States and Mohandas K.Gandhi in Indian in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s about how fascist aggression could be resisted without war; (3) the thinking to two military historians and strategists - Carl von Clausewitz's concept of "defence in depth" and Sir Basil Liddell Hart's "Indirect approach" to strategy and his exploratory comments on the potentials and later practise of nonviolent resistance, especially against Nazi aggression; and (4) the exploratory analyses by several scholars in Europe and the United States from the 1950s to the present of the potential for a defense policy based on non violent non co-operation and political defiance and how this could be developed, prepared and strategically applied.

The prototype cases of improvised nonviolent resistance to dictatorships foreign aggression and occupation and internal coups d'etat include several struggles in Europe among them those waged in Communist-ruled during the decades of totalitarian domination. Since the Second World War. powerful nonviolent stuggles have occurred in East Germany 1953 and 1989. In Hungary (1956-1957 and 1988-1989) in Poland (1956, 1970-1971 and 1980-1989) in Czechoslovakia (1968-1969 and 1989), and in the Baltic States 1987-1991). The results of these struggles range from shorterm defeats to parital successes, to full successes. Due to their improvised nature, these prototypes are imperfact, but they do provide a basis for development and refinement.

In recent years, especially in late 1989, the peoples of these regions exhibited stunning power in dissolving well entrenched dictatorships through largely nonviolent means. The democratic revolutions of 1989 and 1990 self reliantly liberated several nations and millions of people. This was done with far fews casualties and much less destruction than would have accompanied massive violent uprisings or invasions by foreign liberating aimes.

Moreover, in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia high government officials have confirmed that their defense recommendations during the crises of 1991 were based primarily on writings about civilian based defense, supplemented by other ideas.

These cases of civilian resistance for national defense are not examples of civilian-based defense, for they were all improvised and lacked the advantages of planning preparations and training elements that are regarded as essential by strategists of this policy. They do however offer evidence of the potential visability of a prepared civilian-based defense policy that should operate in refined and significantly strengthened forms.

The weapons used in the past improvised cases have included among others, the following ; paralysis of transporation, general strikes econoimic shutdown political, non co-operation, adoption of false identities, economic boycotts, publication of banned newspapers deliberate inefficiency in carrying out orders, defiance by the legislature, judicial resistance non co-operation by civil servants defiant continuation of the previous policies and laws refusal of collaboration maintaining the autonomy of independent organizations and institutions and creation of new ones and subversion of the attacker's troops.

Such weapons or methods employed in civilian based defense will be most effective if they are applied as component parts if a comprehensive plan of defence-that is a carefully chosen strategy of defense. Then particular tactics (plans for limited actions) and specific methods are used to implement the strategy.

Strategies of civilian-based defense might be grouped initially into two broad categories. "general resistance"-following advance guidelines on when and how to resist-and orgainized resistance-resisting according to new specific instructions.

No matter how well prepared it is the initial defense campaign should be regarded as simply the opening phase of a struggle that like a military campaign may require a longer period of intense effort to achieve victory. In the event that the attack does not collapes in the initial phase of resistance, a shift in defense strategy may be required to make it possible to carry on a sustained defense.

Civilian-based defense may be intended either as a supplement to military means or as a full alternative to them to deter and defend a society against attacks. While civilian-based defense can be developed as a full defense policy, its advicates recognize that it will be fully adopted only when and if there is confidence in its stength to procide both defense and deterrence. In some countries sucha s Sweden, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Thailand, there is interest in the use of these means as components for special purposes and in particular circumstances only. Such components might, for example, be used only if military defense against a military giant is obviously futile. or if military means have been used and have failed. They might also be applied against a coup dletat, whether by a military clique, a political party, or in cooperation with a foreign intelligence agency.

There can be on single blueprint for the use of this weapons system. The application of civilian - based defense offers a variety of possible starategies and weapons of resistance. It needs to be adjusted to defeat both attackers' efforts to gain political control and any other specific objective.

Steps in the consideration and implementation of civilian based defense that have been advocated in literature on the subject include the following : (1) Strategic analyses ans research on related phenomena; (2) public education; (3) developing a core of civilian - based defense strategists; (4) constitutional and legal changes to support civilian - based defense; (5) establishing appropriate institutions to assist with the preparations for and conduct of civilian - based defense; (6) determination of the feasible modes of transarmament and implemetation in stages' (7) preparations and training; and (8) international support and civilian - based defense mutual assistance treaties.

As with military security policies, civilian based defense works best when it helps to prevent an attack. A key aim of this policy is to help dissuaside and deter possible attackers. The deterrence capacity of civilian - based defense has two key elements; the actual ability of the society to defend has two key elements: the actual ability of the society to defend itself, and the potential attackers' perception of that ability. Whether the aim of the attack is political domination, economic exploitation, ideological indoctrination, or some other, achievement of the aim will most

likely require the cooperation of at least some of the inhabitants of the attacked country. If it is clear that such cooperation will be firmly denied as a consequence of the civilian - based defense preparations the attackers may reconsider whether their objectives can actually be obtained. Therefore, understanding the deterrance capacity of civilian based defense depends on understanding the actual defense strategies and capacities of this policy.

Any deterrence policy whether military-based of civilian - based can fail, for any number of reasons. In contrast to nuclear deterrence, however, if civilian -based deterrence fails, the policy of civilan-based still provides a viable defense option to combact the attack with out the risk of massive destruction and immense sualties.

Civilian - based defense is not free of risks, however, Aggressors lacing concerned noncooperation and defiance may be seriously threatened and are likely to respond with repression., The killings by Soviet troops in Vilius and Riga in January 1991 are among the tragic examples of this. Nonviolent defiance often risks casualties, sometimes serious ones, but according to preliminary research it almost always produces far fewer casualties than when both sides use violence.

Success in civilian - based defense depends on several key factors. Thses include,among others, the spirit of resistance, the solidairty of the defending population, the ability of resisters to control and utilize the sources of political power, the strength of the defending social institutions, the ability of the people to persist in resistance with nonviolent discipline and to withstand repression, the volunerabilities of the attackers, and, very imporatantly, the wisdom of the defense strategies.

Exponents of civilian - based defense have suggested that in addition to its contribution to deterrence and defense and maintenance of national independence, it also has implications for the vitality of a functioning democracy. By placing a mojor part of the responsibility for defense of the people themselves. this policy would encourage citizens to recognize qualities of the society worthy of defense and to explore how any less mertitorious aspects could be improved. In addition, while civilian-based defense policies would have financial costs, they would not require the massive sums of money and industria production that modern military weaponary requires.

Civilian-based defense rests on the theory that political power, whether of domestic or foreign, is origin derived from sources within each society. By denying or severing these sources of power, populations can control rulers and defeat foreign aggressors.

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Lessons - 24 & 25

TECHNIQUES TO CONVERT A VIOLENT MAN-TOWARDS A NON-VIOLENT WORLD ORDER

Violence manifests through an individual or a group of individuals. In the latter case an individual may lead the group. So the basic issue is how to convert/head a violent person?

The individual, small group (community) and macro level are all inter-related and are nourishes another. A violent person may be the result of psychological, sociological, economic, technological, historical, cultural, educational, religious - factors and to change him/her, we need to address the appropriate factor. This may very from case to case.

Even a normal person, in an angry situation, if he gets some sort of weapon he/she may use that. If no weapon is available, then there will not be this possibility. The presence of weapon-Its production, stockpiling, sales, distribution and continuous improvement due to research - everywhere and training and education in the culture of weapon-from pregnancy to the graveyard - motivates and instigates people to take to violence.

Peace Education may be a way to educate people in peace and nonviolence and also to change a violent person. It is better to motivate people to greater nonviolence before they are connerted to violence. Peace education may be used to educate and reducate in greater and greater peace. But peace Education may not solve all the problems. Peace Education can be a significant dimension in connerting a violent person and society and building up a new person and community. We need to give peace education to our children. So that there may be maximum benefit.

Will diet make a person more nonviolent? willfiet change a violent person? This answer may be a "Partial yes" but not a "total yes". Vegetarion diet and freedom from all kinds of addictions and excesses may convert a violent person and also nowist and enrich a nonviolent person. However have we should remember that there are may violent people who fulfill these conditions. To give a concrete example, Hilter was a vegetarian but was blood thristy.

Practices such as yoga, meditation, relaxation techniques, various kinds of theraphy may help a violent person a loose substantial aspects, of violence and may enrich a nonviolent person. However still there are many yogic masters who are violent/. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi attempts to establish that his transcendental meditaion (TM) method will create a new individual and a new society. Some researchers have come out with quantified data. Dr. A. Packiam Amalraj, through his doctoral dissertation done under the guidance of Dr. S. Jeyapragasam and Dr. T.M. Shanmugham, has shown that package of yoga meditation. Inter-religious prayer. productive manual work, etc may bring changes in the violent attitude of the people.

Mentally ill people should receive proper and adequate medical attendition. Though some of the mental illnesses may be cured, some of them are suppressed. There may be chronic mental patients who may not be healed. Mental illness may be a product of genetic problems and bad upbringing and social conditions. All these may be addressed with the help of latest science

and technology. Some argue only through genetic engineering a nonviolent man may be created. In the puranic story shiva has given tremendous power to Surapaduman. The latter grows domonic and even challenges Shiva. And Shiva creates Murugha through genetic manipulation and he was grown in six lotus flowers (and not in a womb) and further he was trained and educated on full-time basis by six women angles. This story only means apart from better genetic material one needs education and training. There is also the possibility that bio-technology may produce from the gentic mateial of Mother Terasa a criminal. This possibility can not be ruled out.

We need role models and heroes for nonviolence. Today we project only war heroes,

Once we understand the mulit-dimensional roots of violence, we can address all of them simultaneously. As already pointed out the individual-micro and macro links are very important.

These who work hard in a mass scale to spread violence, hatred and revenge should be tackled.

Towards a nonviolent world order

In the nuclear age, we need to give up the existing world order and build up a New nonviolent order. The very continued survival of humanity depends on these. We need to put an end to the weapons of mass destruction before they put an end to us.

Any progress towards a nonviolent world should be in two ways 1) Changing the existing order 2) Building up the New order. The undimensional approach (usually followed by the politicions including the Marxists) will not work.

How are changes the old order is also important. In Russia, Communist destroyed the old order with greater violence and cruelty. So when they, after destroying the old order, came to power, they tended to repeat the old order in a new form with greater violence (improved weapons). To build a nonviolent order, the old violent order need to be changed by nonviolent means. While doing that simaltaneously, the have nonviolent order should be built up. What Gandhi did during the Indian freedom struggle the nonviolent struggle agaist the colonial rulers and constructive work and alternative life style to build up a new order is quite significant.

He also simaltanourly prepared the people spiritually, intollectually externionally and physically. Gandhi had a vision and a utopia of course there were growing all the time. Without these we may not have a clear agenda before us.

We need to transform the individual, community and society everywhere.

We have a long way to go. But we have to take the first step. That is most important.

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